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Daily Report
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FBIS-EEU-95-181 *19 September 1995*

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NATO: Permament Halt to Air Strikes Possible

LD1809114095 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1111 GMT 18 Sep 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Brussels, Sept 18 (TANJUG)—There is a good chance for a U.N. and NATO suspension of air strikes against Bosnian Serb positions for another 72 hours (expiring at 2000 GMT on Wednesday) to become permanent, sources at the NATO headquarters in Brussels said Monday.

The sources said that U.N. force commander for the former Yugoslavia Gen. Bernard Janvier and NATO southern wing commander admiral Leighton Smith had described the pace of the Bosnian Serb heavy weapons withdrawal as 'satisfactory' and assessed that it was unnecessary to use more air strikes to 'remind' the Bosnian Serbs to withdraw their entire arsenal from around Sarajevo.

The European Union is at the same time trying to take a greater part in the settlement of the Bosnian crisis. E.U. foreign affairs commissioner Hans van den Broek will to that effect meet E.U. mediator for Bosnia Carl Bildt later in the day.

The Strasbourg-based E.U. parliament on Monday begins its first autumn session with a debate on the budget focusing also on the economic assistance for a reconstruction of the former Yugoslav republics.

Observers in Brussels say that the European administration, which was unable to persuade the Bosnian warring sides to stop mutual killings, could have a far more useful role in its efforts toward a post-war reconstruction of the former Yugoslav republics.

Mazowiecki: West Does Not See Real Danger in B-H

BR1909101395 Rome IL MESSAGGERO in Italian 19 Sep 95 p 11

[Interview with Tadeusz Mazowiecki, former UN rapporteur on human rights in Bosnia-Herzegovina, by Valerio Pellizzari in Warsaw; date not given: "'I, the Former UN Envoy, Accuse Europe of Turning Its Back on the Refugees'"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Warsaw—[Passage omitted] [Pellizzari] What will the person who takes your place do?

[Mazowiecki] There are various hypotheses. Let them choose someone who is prepared for nobody to listen to him. Or let my aides be merged with some other department. Or let the human rights envoy's mandate be changed and become an effective tool.

[Pellizzari] You compare the situation to Gdansk and fascism. Is there a cyclic indifference that repeats itself in the history of mankind?

[Mazowiecki] I cannot answer that. I believe that, in given situations, men do not sense the real danger. Many consider this conflict in Bosnia as a local affair, peripheral and exotic. A "Balkan conflict," as they say, looking down their noses. But if that is the case, one should ask how come someone like General Mladic, who is not exactly at the head of Europe's largest army, can keep the United Nations, NATO, and the United States in check for so long. [passage omitted]

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PD Leader Praises Berisha's U.S. Visit

AU1809202295 Tirana RILINDJA DEMOKRATIKE in Albanian 17 Sep 95 p 1

[Unattributed interview with Tritan Shehu, general secretary of the Democratic Party, PD; place and date not given: "New Dimension in Albanian-U.S. Relations"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [RILINDJA DEMOKRATIKE] President Berisha has concluded his visit to the United States. What do you think this visit has achieved?

[Shehu] President Berisha's visit to the White House, his second as president of Albania, was of political and economic importance, and strengthened all-round cooperation between Albania and the United States.

This is not only because of the meeting with President Clinton, which was important in itself, but mostly because of the breadth and significance of the problems discussed by the two presidents and with senior representatives of the U.S. Administration. This visit will doubtless mark a new development and further strengthening of Albanian-U.S. relations, which have been very good since the first democratic developments in Albania, when the part played by this great country was very encouraging for us. The United States was present during this period and supported us in every direction, but here we must stress more strongly its help toward solving the national question. The effort the United States is making today towards stability, peace, and respect for human rights in the Balkans no doubt runs parallel with our efforts toward the respect for human rights in Kosova, for the right of its people to self-determination in accordance with the ideals of the resolutions of Helsinki and Paris, and for the creation of a zone of peace and cooperation in this region. In this sense, President Berisha's meeting marks a very positive new development in these relations.

I am convinced that, within the framework of economic relations with the United States, this visit will greatly increase the presence of U.S. investors in Albania. The visit not only made Albania known among the U.S. public, but gave investors the security to come to Albania and take part in economic developments here.

It is worth mentioning the meetings with Mr. Perry, the defense secretary. The expansion of military cooperation with the United States, which must not be considered in isolation from our cooperation with NATO, is of great importance for Albania's security, the national issue, and stability in the Balkans.

Albania has never had any intention of turning its territory into a base for aggression against other countries. Albania is demonstrating her desire to create a zone of peace. Of course, the closer our cooperation with the United States and NATO, the more Albania will be turned into a factor of peace and stability in the Balkans.

[RILINDJA DEMOKRATIKE] Mr. Shehu, how would you comment on the response of Socialist leader Pellumbi to President Berisha's statement on establishing NATO military bases in our country?

[Shehu] There is nothing new or surprising to me in the views that Mr. Pellumbi expressed regarding cooperation and close military ties with the United States and NATO, with the agreements that have been signed with European and U.S. organizations, in his disapproval of the guarantee that President Berisha gave of Albania's total military cooperation with NATO, and in what he implies, i.e. that the Socialist Party intends to review all Albania's military agreements if it ever comes to power. These views are a logical consequence of the Marxist views of Mr. Pellumbi, who leads a party of the extreme left.

Mr. Pellumbi and his party, as heirs to the Albanian Workers Party, Marx, and the teachings of the Albanian communists, no doubt view the United States and NATO as forces of aggression endangering Albania. They see them as enemy forces. Their xenophobic ideas, which make them see enemies everywhere and have been part of their entire lives, are evident in their present behavior and proposals. I do not see this idea in isolation, but as attached to the philosophy and behavior of the Socialist Party leadership. Meanwhile, one cannot fail to also see logical connections to the behavior of certain terrorist groups that have now appeared in Albania and have begun to scrawl "Americans out" and "Down with America" on walls. These are nothing but the slogans of Enver Hoxha's regime.

I cannot avoid seeing a logical connection between these forces of terror and the accusations Mr. Pellumbi raises, as a representative of the Socialist Party, against the United States and NATO.

In its 1992 electoral manifesto, for which the majority of the Albanian electorate voted, the Democratic Party [PD] clearly expressed its unswerving determination to fully include Albania in the euro-atlantic military structures. This is a road on which we embarked long ago with our military agreements and with the Partnership for Peace, and which will no doubt carry Albania toward full partnership in these structures. President Berisha's new proposals are doubtless a continuation of these policies.

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Opposition Expresses 'Skepticism'

AU1809181395 Tirana KOHA JONE in Albanian 17 Sep 95 p 3

[Article by Altin Hazizaj: "Total Understanding of Developments in Albania"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] At 1600 yesterday, Albanian President Sali Berisha was welcomed home by the most senior members of the government and parliament after completing his five-day visit to the United States, during which he held a meeting with President Clinton on 12 September. In the meantime, the Albanian opposition in Tirana has watched Berisha's visit and White House meeting with skepticism and reservations, leveling harsh criticism at Berisha over violations of the independence of the judiciary and the political freedoms of individuals. [passage omitted]

Although official Albanian sources have tried to emphasize the success of Berisha's visit to Washington, there has been no lack of reports of the reservations in the United States over recent events in Albania regarding the independence of the judiciary. This has been evident in a recent letter from Human Rights Watch, an organization in the United States for the protection of human rights, asking the U.S. President to encourage Berisha to respect the independence of the courts.

All Albanian opposition politicians also express reservations regarding the Berisha-Clinton meeting. Many of them consider the Albanian president's desire to open bases in Albania for U.S. forces and heavy aircraft, which neighboring Italy recently refused, to be irresponsible, and something that is aimed against the parliament. "Berisha," a Socialist leader said, "must first ask the permission of the parliament and then decide to open military bases in Albania."

AD's Ceka Supports Berisha on NATO Deployment

AU1809181295 Tirana GAZETA SHQIPTARE in Albanian 17 Sep 95 p 3

[Article by Arian Cani: "Ceka: 'NATO Bases? I Agree With Berisha'"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Neritan Ceka, president of the Democratic Alliance [AD], has come out in favor of the statements of the Albanian president on the deployment of NATO forces on Albanian soil. "I support Berisha's promise to station U.S. antiradar bombers at Albanian bases." Ceka rejects the view of high-level Socialist Party [PSSh] leader Servet Pellumbi, who only two days ago expressed on behalf of his party reservations toward Berisha's promises in Washington, which he called "overhasty and irresponsible." Neritan Ceka talked to GAZETA SHQIPTARE yesterday about the importance of NATO coming to our bases and commented on the Socialist Party's stand on this issue.

"I support Berisha's statement offering our military bases to NATO," he said. "Indeed, if the president succeeds in making Albania a member of NATO's structures and in bringing NATO bases here, I would forgive him Albania's membership of the Islamic Conference. NATO membership and the establishment of bases would not merely be a military decision, but would, at the same time, be a very important economic factor, because it would turn Albania into a very attractive field for investment."

We asked him for his comments on the reservations of the PSSh toward Berisha's statement.

"From the legislative viewpoint," he said, "the PSSh still has no base on which to make categorical announcements, while this party's blanket opposition to Berisha's statements in Washington is politically unjustified. There is a kind of phobia against NATO in the PSSh that reflects the mentality of the extreme left of the Socialist electorate. It, nevertheless, seems to me that the Socialists are not well acquainted with the Constitutional Law. Of course, such an important process must have its necessary legal basis through the approval in the parliament, but I would like to recall the fact that the president has the right to promise or to sign agreements or to issue decrees, while the parliament has the right to have its say only after 15 days. The PSSh must be sure that the partners of NATO know the Albanian laws better than the Arabs and will ask Berisha to apply the constitution. The NATO bases are too important to be guaranteed by a presidential signature alone."

PSSh: Only Parliament May Grant Military Bases

AU1809201495 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 17 Sep 95 p 3

[Unattributed editorial: "You Have Forgotten, Mr. Arbnori"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Mr. Arbnori has responded through the BBC to the comment by Professor Servet Pellumbi, deputy chairman of the Socialist Party [PSSh], on Mr. Berisha's offer to give military bases to NATO. His sole "argument" is that the parliament has approved the document on the Partnership of Peace, which Arbnori claims gives Berisha the right to offer bases without any debate in parliament. Sure of himself, Arbnori says, "Mr. Pellumbi has forgotten that we voted for the document on the Partnership for Peace."

The PSSh's parliamentary group voted unanimously for the basic document on the "Partnership for Peace," and nobody feels what Mr. Arbnori calls "regret" over this.

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In order to refresh the memories of Mr. Arbnori and Mr. Berisha, however, we republish the complete text of the document, which makes no mention of granting military bases, something that can only be done by parliament.

President Clinton himself knows much better than Arbnori what the Albanian parliament has approved and what are the rights of a president who was not elected by the people but only by the votes of his party. President Clinton therefore, as the announcement by the White House press secretary stated, "welcomed the growth of military cooperation between our two countries and Albania's active participation in the Partnership for Peace Program."

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Lawmakers Reject Russian Request for Aid to Serbia

AU1809142895 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1300 GMT 18 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Today, members of the Parliamentary Foreign Policy Commission refused an appeal from Russian State Duma deputies for assistance in establishing a transportation corridor through Bulgaria for the delivery of petroleum, fuel, and lubricants prohibited by the Yugoslav sanctions as humanitarian aid for Serbia.

In Bulgaria a consensus exists both regarding a balanced foreign policy toward the conflict in former Yugoslavia and on the impossibility of the sanctions imposed by the UN Security Council against Serbia and Montenegro to be lifted unilaterally—this was what Nikolay Kamov, chairman of the National Assembly's Foreign Policy Commission, and his deputy, Asen Agov, told the Russian Duma deputies.

The Russian Duma delegation consisted of Konstantin Zatulin of the Democratic Party, Vitaliy Zhuravlev of Zhirinovskiy's Liberal Democratic Party, the former cosmonaut Vitaliy Sevastyanov of the Communist Party, and the independent deputy Sergey Glotov, leader of the group for friendship between the Russian and Serbian Parliaments.

The Russian deputies also asked Bulgaria to support the Russian policy in defense of Serbia in international organizations and to join in the protests against the NATO air strikes, as well as to provide assistance in restoring military-technical cooperation between Russia and Serbia. Do not forget that, despite making numerous appeals, Bulgaria has still not received any response to its demands for compensation for the losses it incurred as a result of the sanctions, while the [words indistinct] that it enjoys in Europe comes from Russia—these were the words of Russian Deputy Konstantin Zatulin. The Russian Duma delegation members also appealed to the Bulgarian Parliament to discuss a law on humanitarian aid to Serbia that will be sent to Sofia as soon as it is adopted by the Russian State Duma, probably in October. They declared that they would depart from Bulgaria earlier than planned so that they can hold talks in Moscow today with Bulgarian Prime Minister Zhan Videnov.

The issue of unilaterally lifting the sanctions has not been discussed nor raised by any political force in Bulgaria, declared Nikolay Kamov, leader of the Democratic Left Parliamentary Group.

According to Asen Agov of the parliamentary group of the SDS [Union of Democratic Forces], all humanitarian issues relating to former Yugoslavia should be resolved within the framework of a general agreement sanctioned by the United Nations, and unilateral actions in this direction would conflict with our country's national interests. Both Bulgarian deputies stressed that, in any case, the National Assembly's Foreign Policy Commission will discuss the Russian deputies' proposals.

VMRO-SMD Asks Ministry To Expel Serbian Envoy

AU1509160095 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1500 GMT 15 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization-Union of Macedonian Societies [VMRO-SMD] has issued a declaration in which it demands that the Ministry of Foreign Affairs inform Serbian Ambassador Rados Smiljkovic that acts such as his participation in the campaign against President Zhelyu Zhelev are undesirable. The VMRO-DMS requests the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to officially pose the issue to the authorities in Belgrade in a diplomatic note in which his recall is to be demanded.

Last month in Plovdiv, and on 14 September at 20 Positano Street in Sofia [the headquarters of the Bulgarian Socialist Party], Rados Smiljkovic participated in meetings at which President Zhelev was described as a Fascist, Hitlerite, and dirty traitor. The Serbian ambassador has not dissociated himself from those descriptions.

The declaration points out that the silence of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the government regarding those acts of Rados Smrkovic is strange. Such acts are incompatible with diplomatic ethics and practice, the declaration reads.

Prime Ministerial Agreements in Russia

AU1809181095 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 16 Sep 95

[Report by special radio correspondent Kalina Stancheva from Moscow, "toward the end of Prime Minister Videnov's one-day working visit to Moscow"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Recently, Bulgarian-Russian relations are assuming a more predictable, mutually beneficial character in conformance with the realities—this was the assessment made by Russian Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin. Regarding the deal—and I quote his words—things are progressing perhaps not as we would wish, because problems exist that require clarification. Prime Minister Chernomyrdin considers that it is especially important for the governments to check on how things are progressing and to make the necessary adjustments to the course of events.

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After the 100-minute private meeting between Videnov and Chernomyrdin and the ensuing meeting between the two delegations, it became clear in which projects progress has been made. The Bulgarian side assumed a commitment to organize a trilateral governmental meeting in Sofia before the end of October, for Bulgaria, Russia, and Greece to sign the agreement on the transit petroleum pipeline from Burgas to Alexandroupolis and on setting up a trilateral company to construct the pipeline.

Following final clarifications today between Russian Fuel and Energy Minister Yuriy Shafranik and Stefan Nedelchev, executive director of Neftokhim, a joint enterprise will be set up in the very near future that will engage in the whole range of activities from the production to marketing of crude oil and petroleum products. It is believed that the fundamental problems have already been resolved regarding the transit gas pipeline, while the new company will settle the particular problems at the general meeting before the end of October.

Regarding the transit gas pipeline, the problem for the Russian side concerns gathering the required capital for the start of its construction. In answer to a question from Bulgarian National Radio, Zhan Videnov announced that the Russian partners agreed with pleasure to seek support from Bulgarian credit facilities, including from the Bulgarian Foreign Trade Bank, and also (?to offer) guarantees in our negotiations with the international financial institutions.

The leader of the Bulgarian Government officially confirmed the first deal for passing on to us [kaskadirane] Russian weapons that are subject to reduction under the international accords. It is planned that the liberalization of mutual trade will be one of the main subjects to be discussed at the November session of the Intergovernmental Commission for Economic Cooperation, when a further meeting is likely between government leaders Videnov and Chernomyrdin.

Pavlov Defends Decision on Military Inspectorate

AU1509135995 Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian 12 Sep 95 p 9

[Interview with Defense Minister Dimitur Pavlov by Vasil Lyutskanov; place and date not given: "The Inspectorate Does Not Fulfill Any Dubious Designs"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Lyutskanov] Minister Pavlov, on 29 August the president blocked the restoration of the Defense Ministry Inspectorate by rejecting your proposed appointments for it. Speaking on Bulgarian National Television, Dr. Zhelev admonished you for failing to coordinate the Inspectorate's functions, structure, and payroll with the General Staff. Are there any disagreements between you and the General Staff on issues relating to the Defense Ministry Inspectorate?

[Pavlov] The Defense Ministry Inspectorate is neither a body that hides itself, nor one that fulfills any dubious designs. The question was coordinated with the General Staff, whose members did not oppose it. There can be no differences between the civilian and military leaderships of the army regarding the army's functions, because the latter are in compliance with the defense minister's obligations and rights, as stated in Articles 32, 33, and 34 of the Defence and Armed Forces Act, which parliament has already adopted.

[Lyutskanov] However, many military men are not sure whether the Inspectorate is necessary, recalling that in the time of Dzhurov [long-serving defense minister under Zhivkov], the Inspectorate was a kind of paradise in which venerable generals with "services" to the party-state received fat salaries without having to work.

[Pavlov] The Defense Ministry Inspectorate is conceived as a control body under the defense minister and the Defense Ministry charged with exercising civil control in the army in accordance with world practice. Our experts made inquiries and discovered that of the 54 countries that they checked, 48 of them have inspectorates in their armed forces. They have existed for many years in the armed forces of the United States, France, the Czech Republic, Poland, Romania, Greece, Turkey, Russia, but I will not list all the countries. In Bulgaria, in 1878 an interim decree on the command of the Bulgarian Land Forces created the first inspection organs. For 115 years, our army always had control bodies in the form of inspectorates or inspection departments, until 1993, when the Defense Ministry Inspectorate was closed down. I am firmly convinced that it is needed, because it is one of the forms for exercising civil control in the army, and this is one of the obligatory requirements that Bulgaria has to fulfill to join the European and euro-atlantic structures.

[Lyutskanov] However, the president accused you of creating the Inspectorate under the powers delegated to you by the law, instead of waiting for it to be established under the Defense and Armed Forces Act.

[Pavlov] The government is authorized to create organs and structures in the ministry that it controls. Under Council of Ministers Decree No. 156 of 1 August 1995, I am instructed to establish the status, functions, and tasks of the inspectorate of the Defense Ministry. A working draft of a code of regulations for the inspectorate's organization and activities has been prepared for discussion. It reflects the powers and responsibilities that the defense minister is given under the

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Defense and Armed Forces Act, including the inspectorate's functions and tasks in exercising civil control in the army. An additional Paragraph 4 to Article 38 in the act obliges the Council of Ministers to adopt this code of regulations.

[Lyutskanov] Dr. Zhelev expressed the fear that the inspectorate will form a second power center in the army.

[Pavlov] This has not happened anywhere in the world. The Defense Ministry Inspectorate has no management or administrative functions. It presents the results of its activities in the form of reports to the defense minister, including its own proposals and recommendations. The minister decides at his own discretion to approve them or not. The approved proposals and recommendations are then drafted in the form of an order or instruction of the defense minister to the Defense Ministry officials and members of the General Staff to whom they appertain. If the inspections that are carried out prove the guilt of officials who are required to render account for their acts, this is done by the defense minister, the chief of the General Staff, or by the appropriate chiefs on their instructions, in accordance with the laws and the military statutes.

[Lyutskanov] The Parliamentary National Security Commission has already voted in favor of the long-delayed Article 38 of the Defense and Armed Forces Act that relates to the inspectorate, and Paragraph 2 of this article establishes the 11 functions of the inspectorate that you have proposed. All the deputies serving in the commission committed themselves to refraining from making new proposals when the draft law is debated in the plenary chamber of parliament. What will you do if the inspectorate is rejected during the second reading of the Defense and Armed Forces Act?

[Pavlov] In the event of the deputies voting against the inspectorate in the plenary chamber, we will then have to fulfill Council of Ministers Decree No. 156. If President Zhelev refuses to accept the proposed candidates for the posts of chief inspectors of the armed services, we will have to reduce their ranks so as to fulfill the decree. However, if Article 38 is adopted by parliament in full session, the inspectorate will start operating immediately the Defense and Armed Forces Act is adopted in its entirety. I am optimistic that I will be able to congratulate the army on the adoption of its law before the end of the year. [passage omitted]

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Strength of Deputies' Clubs in Parliament Noted

AU1809083995 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 13 Sep 95 p 1

[Report by Martin Manak: "People's Party Becomes Five Deputies Stronger"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Passage omitted]

Deputies' Clubs (Number of Members)

	8 Jun 92	12 Sep 95
Civic Democratic Party	66	65
Left Bloc	35	24
Christian Democratic Union-Czechoslovak People's Party	15	23
Czech Social Democratic Party	16	21
Civic Democratic Alliance	14	16
Bohemian and Moravian Center Union	*	15
Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia	*	10
Christian Democratic Party	10	6
Association for the Republic-Republican Party of Czechoslovakia	14	5
Liberal National Social Party	*	5
Liberal Social Union	16	**
Movement for Self-Governing Democracy-Society for Moravia and Silesia	14	**
Unaffiliated	0	10

Note: * Club did not exist at the time; ** Club no longer exists

Israeli Firm Defends Victory in T-72 Tender

AU1809173695 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 11 Sep 95 p 2

[Report by "bak": "Nimda Defends Victory in T-72 Tank Tender"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Prague—The Israeli firm Nimda, which won the Army tender for T-72 transmission and final drives, denies the claims of its competitors that its design requires fundamentally rebuilding the tank. The transmission and the engine block were selected so as not to require any significant rebuilding of the engine space. The director of the Marketing and Sales Division of Nimda, Zivi Gera, told HOSPODARSKE NOVINY that Nimda has substantial experience with the modernization of similar equipment. For instance, the firm modernized the drive mechanism of the U.S. M-50 Sherman tank, the M-60, the British Centurion, and the Soviet T-54, T-55, and T-62 tanks. The alterations were also made to tanks with mass in excess of 50 metric tons; the modernized T-72 should weigh some 45 metric tons.

The statement by Defense Minister Vilem Holan addressed to the parliamentary Defense and Security Committee also observes that the Nimda solution requires lesser adjustment than, for instance, the Skoda Plzen solution.

Nimda also took part in the tender for the fire-control system, but it was not successful there. Nevertheless, the firm does not intend to complain regarding the course of the competition in this tender. It also guarantees at least 30-percent Czech participation in the modernization of the tank's drive system. Praga Co., for instance, should manufacture some of the parts for the Allison automatic transmission. According to Praga representatives, for them this would mean access to the top-of-the-range U.S. hardware.

Slovak Debt Confirmed by Independent Audit

AU1909102895 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 8 Sep 95 p 1

[Report by "CTA, zdz": "An Independent Audit Confirmed the Debt"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Prague—The most significant item on the list of those to be settled in order to complete the division of the property of the Czechoslovak Federation has been verified by accountants and confirmed by an independent audit, according to Czech National Bank (CNB) spokesman Kvacek. It is a claim by the CNB against the Slovak Central Bank in the amount of 24.7 billion korunas that arose as the difference between assets and liabilities of the Czech and Slovak banks at the

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time of the division of the reserves of the Czechoslovak State Bank. The form of payment, however, is subject to political decision by the Slovak Government. In any event, according to Kvacek, it is not very likely that this decision would be made very soon.

[Bratislava SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA in Slovak on 9 September on page 1 adds: "The Government of the Slovak Republic and the National Bank of Slovakia have never admitted the claim of the CNB against the Slovak Central Bank in the amount of 24.7 billion korunas." Moreover, this report adds: "Regarding the settlement of the gold owned by the Federal Republic, the sources point out that the Czechoslovak State Bank owned 105 metric tons of gold on 31 December 1992, and the Czech side admitted that 35 tons belong to the Slovak Republic."]

Poll: Most Satisfied With Economic Transformation

AU1909100995 Prague DENNI TELEGRAF in Czech 13 Sep 95 p 1

[Report by "sv": "The Opinion on the Economic Transformation Remains Unchanged"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Prague—The citizens of the Czech Republic have not made any major changes in their assessment of the success of the economic transformation, and, therefore, according to the Institute for Public Opinion Research (IVVM), it can be regarded as stable.

In August, interviewing 899 individuals, the IVVM did its regular monthly study of views held by the inhabitants of the Czech Republic on the success of the economic reform. According to those asked, the development so far has been assessed as follows: successful (23 percent), halfway successful (44 percent), rather unsuccessful (15 percent), and very unsuccessful (3 percent); 13 percent of the population do not know. Within a broader time frame, we can observe a gradual decline in the number of favorable comments, witnessing a rise in the percentage of "do not know" cases. The favorable view of the transformation progress is quite intimately linked to the dynamic elements of life in society, which include location in large cities, younger age groups, higher level of education, leadership positions, and more demanding professional work involving intellectual work and higher qualifications. For example, 35 percent of the citizens who have a lower standard of living believe that the economic transformation is unsuccessful, whereas 37 percent of the population with a good standard of living are satisfied with the process, while only 7 percent are dissatisfied.

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President Meets U.S. Defense Secretary Perry

LD1809135395 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1300 GMT 18 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] U.S. Defense Secretary William Perry, who is on a two-day official visit to Slovakia, was received today by President Michal Kovac in the state rooms of Primate Palace. The two officials said cooperation and prospects for military contacts between the Slovak Republic and the United States are very good. William Perry appreciated the fact that money provided by the U.S. Government under the military-to-military program and targeted specifically at staff development and transformation has been used by the Slovak Army in a very efficient way. As a result, it was decided that the money quota for next year will increase.

According to the U.S. defense secretary, Slovakia ranks among important countries within the Partnership for Peace program. [passage omitted]

Kovac Views Son's Case, Conflict With Meciar

AU1809180695

[FBIS Editorial Report] Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA VIKEND (Weekend supplement) in Slovak on 14 September on pages 1 and 3 carries a 4,000-word interview with President Michal Kovac by Peter Sporer entitled "President Kovac: Resigning Would Be Tantamount To Taking Over the Role of Coward and Giving Up in the Struggle Against Evil." The interview, the place and date of which are not given, is devoted to the case of his son and its political implications. (Michal Kovac Jr. was abducted to Austria on 31 August and detained there by Austrian authorities on the basis of an international arrest warrant issued in Germany because of his suspected involvement in a $2.3-million fraud).

At the outset of the interview, Kovac reiterates his conviction that his son is innocent and that he will manage to prove his innocence when the case is taken up by the court. He rejects allegations that his son was hiding before German authorities after the initial publication of the German authorities' arrest warrant in March and asserts that both he and his son desire the earliest possible investigation of the case. Kovac also discusses Michal Kovac Jr.'s business activities and denies rumors about his alleged fabulous wealth. In this context, the president mentions that his son "has had several tax inspections of his firm, which is rather unusual in the case of such a small entrepreneur. They all confirmed that he runs his business in accordance with our laws. It naturally dawned on me who had initiated those inspections. It was not difficult to guess."

Speaking about his family's property situation, President Kovac denies knowledge of the existence of his son's foreign exchange account abroad, reported by the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia (HZDS) daily SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA, and suggests that "SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA take an interest in how many members of the prime minister's Cabinet and people around them have such accounts."

Kovac also accuses Prime Minister Meciar and Slovak Information Service (SIS) Director Ivan Lexa of having tried to use the criminal case involving his son against the president. Kovac says: "I knew that the prime minister and Mr. Lexa were trying very hard to have the case investigated also in Slovakia—that is, to have criminal proceedings against my son initiated also in our country. They did not let up in these efforts even when lawyers objected that proceedings in the same matter cannot be conducted at two places. I also felt that, regardless of laws and the due procedure, pressure exerted upon me through this channel would not cease. The prime minister himself confirmed this on the 'Press Club' [regular Tuesday TV panel discussion with the prime minister], when he said: 'It had been proposed that the accomplice or suspect Michal Kovac Jr. be taken into custody, but the court did not accept the proposed custody.'

"This was news to me. Until the 'Press Club,' I thought that the attempts to have my son tried were only theoretical. I did not know that such a practical step, aimed at scandalizing me and exerting pressure for my resignation, had been taken."

Asked to comment on Prime Minister Meciar's refusal to send a note to Austria asking for the extradition of Michal Kovac Jr., the president then says: "I do not pigeonhole people, not even the prime minister. Everyone has his weaknesses and strengths.

"But the fact that the prime minister doubts that the criminal act of abduction to Austria was even committed and that he ruled out the possibility of the abducted Slovak citizen's mother country requesting his extradition is only the logical consequence of his intensive interest in this case since at least January of this year. Cases of fraud among companies exist in Slovakia just as they exist abroad. However, these cases tend to be dealt with by the damaged firms themselves, by filing a lawsuit against the party that had inflicted the damage. No one recalls the case of a government, with the prime minister at the head, taking such fervent interest in such affairs. Everything, really everything, suggests that the prime minister needed this case, which is based on the testimony of one convicted person

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(Krylov, who has, however, been quickly released from prison), to discredit the president.

"On that memorable 'Press Club,' the prime minister announced that on 20 February he had sent Messrs. Slota and Luptak to offer me their help. This is either an open lie or an intentional mystification. There were witnesses present during that talk, and there also exist minutes of it. The two gentlemen came to tell me that their parties would not allow themselves to be drawn into the attacks against the president and a few more things that were relevant then. At the end, they told me that they knew from the prime minister about the existence of an 'arrest warrant' for my son. Nothing more."

The subsequent passage concerns the genesis of President Kovac's conflict with the prime minister. Kovac says that, in his opinion, their mutual trust started to erode in April or May 1993—that is, two or three months after Kovac's inauguration as president. Even before that, however, at the time when Kovac was chairman of the Czechoslovak Federal Assembly, Meciar was reportedly "collecting all kinds of information about me and my family. I did not take it seriously then. I tried to accept it as his mania. He feels good when he has plenty of information about his fellow workers. Moreover, I was convinced that he could not learn anything about me that could shake his confidence in me."

Kovac also confirms that his first disagreement with Meciar goes back even further, to "the end of 1991 and the beginning of 1992," when the prime minister decided to "keep" Ivan Lexa and Anna Nagyova, despite opposition from the HZDS Political Board. Kovac says: "At that time, we insisted in the HZDS Political Board that neither Mrs. Nagyova nor Mr. Lexa work in the movement's secretariat. Mr. Meciar had promised earlier that they would leave the secretariat or, respectively, that they would not join the secretariat when they leave the government. When we demanded that he abide by his promise, a rather serious conflict arose. Later I learned that he would supposedly never forgive me for this, or Knazko, Filkus, and the others who had demanded this step from him. But, as I have said already, I did not ascribe great importance to this then."

In his concluding replies, Kovac affirms his refusal to resign from the post of president. The passage reads:

"[Sporer] In view of your known sensitivity, if you pardon that expression, the abduction could be expected to disrupt your mental state or your state of health. If this happens, the Slovak Constitution provides for the possibility of the government assuming some of the presidential powers. From here it would be only a small step toward the president becoming a powerless figure, for whom resignation is the only way out. Have you realized this, in connection with the abduction?

"[Kovac] No matter how I assess the matter, I conclude that my resignation would lead to the great destabilization of society and that it would be difficult to find a new candidate for the presidential post in that situation. To say nothing of the fact that, in the eyes of the world public, Slovakia would appear even more as a weaker element in this European region.

"But, regardless of whether any such ideas occurred to me in this situation, my mental stability is derived from something else—from the deep conviction that what I am doing is in harmony with the interests of the country and in full harmony with my conviction.

"I have no doubt that dirty tricks, intrigues, and other similar methods will come out one day and also that I stand on the platform of truth and justice and have nothing to be afraid of, in fact. Moreover, I am convinced that justice and truth are values that will prevail in the end. My religious belief is also a source of great strength for me. No less important is the fact that I am trying to perceive public opinion in its entire spectrum.

"The kind of people who are against me and who hate me and the kind of people who support me—all this is important for me to be able to correct my internal conviction and ask realistic questions: Am I not damaging the interests of this country by adamantly remaining in the presidential post? Would it not be better for this country if I resigned?

"Deep inside and based on people's opinion, I come to the conclusion that this would be the worst thing I could do for Slovakia.

"[Sporer] Have you at least once during your term in office conceded the possibility of resignation?

"[Kovac] No. I have only been asking whether this would help this country.

"I surely know more about the situation in our country than a rank-and-file citizen. I also know how the mechanism of power works. Resigning would be tantamount to taking over the role of coward and giving up in the struggle against evil.

"[Sporer] When would you be ready to resign?

"[Kovac] Only if I became convinced deep inside that this will help Slovakia, democracy, truth, and justice.

"[Sporer] What outcome do you expect, given the deepening 'nondialogue' between the prime minister and the president?

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"[Kovac] I am ready and able to respect Mr. Meciar as the legitimate prime minister, and he has no choice but to respect me, the properly elected president. The sooner he realizes this, the better for Slovakia."

KDH Head Sees Meciar Losing Fight Against Kovac

AU1809180995 Vienna PROFIL in German 18 Sep 95 p 66

[Interview with Jan Carnogursky, chairman of the Christian Democratic Movement, by Michael Siegert; place and date not given: "Jan Carnogursky: 'Intelligence Service Involved'"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Siegert] Mr. Carnogursky, what is behind the kidnapping of the president's son, Michal Kovac, to Hainburg in Austria?

[Carnogursky] In my view, the Slovak Information Service, SIS, has been involved in the matter.

[Siegert] By order of Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar?

[Carnogursky] Secret Service Chief Ivan Lexa is one of Mr. Meciar's closest advisers.

[Siegert] What does this mean for democracy in Slovakia? Will the president or the prime minister resign?

[Carnogursky] It is unlikely that the president will lose this fight and resign. I know this from the president himself. There is a good chance of Prime Minister Meciar losing the confrontation. It is paradoxical, but we, the opposition, at the end of August urged the president not to accept Meciar's potential resignation.

[Siegert] As opposition you should be pleased to return to power.

[Carnogursky] No, because Mr. Meciar holds a majority in parliament.

[Siegert] Which means that you would not be able to govern until after the 1998 elections.

[Carnogursky] No new government could govern against Meciar. He wants to aggravate the problem to either the president or me.

[Siegert] It seems that, in the fight between prime minister and president, the population tends to support President Kovac.

[Carnogursky] That is right. But as a party, the HZDS [Movement for a Democratic Slovakia] still comes out on top in opinion polls.

Kovac Refuses To Attend Closed Cabinet Session

LD1909114895 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1000 GMT 19 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Slovak President Michal Kovac has rejected an invitation by Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar to attend a closed cabinet meeting today. Kovac was asked to explain at the meeting his statement aimed against the government and the government coalition.

Kovac proposed that another meeting be held in the Presidential Office. However, this meeting should be properly prepared.

Presidential Spokesman Vladimir Stefko stressed that the the government has suspended communications with and introduced an information blackout vis-a-vis the president.

Republic Ratifies CE Convention on Minorities

AU1909073495 Bratislava SME in Slovak 16 Sep 95 p 7

[Report by TASR: "Slovakia Ratified Council of Europe Convention on Ethnic Minorities"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Strasbourg—The Slovak Republic ratified the Council of Europe [CE] Convention on Ethnic Minorities on Thursday, 14 September. Viera Straznicka, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Slovak Republic to the Council of Europe and Slovakia's permanent representative in the Council of Europe, handed over the document on the ratification of the text of the agreement to the secretary-general of the 36-member organization.

The convention was submitted to the European states for signing on 1 January 1995. The convention will go into effect after its ratification by 12 Council of Europe member states. Until Thursday, the only countries to have ratified the convention were Spain and Romania.

CE Official Visiting; Comments on Objectives

LD1809123895 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1000 GMT 18 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Miguel Angel Martinez, chairman of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe [CE], arrived yesterday on a three-day working visit to Slovakia. [passage omitted] Our editor Igor Skocek asked Miguel Angel Martinez about the main objective of his visit to Slovakia.

[Begin recording] [Martinez in French with superimposed Slovak translation] My visit is a visit to one of the member countries of the Council of Europe, so we

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mainly talked about issues that are currently being debated by this institution. [passage omitted] [end recording]

[Skocek] This is not the first visit by Miguel Angel Martinez to Slovakia, so we were interested to know whether anything had changed here since his last visit, especially with regard to ethnic minority problems.

[Begin Martinez recording] I am always interested in what is happening in your country. We are aware that many things have already been done. The Council has welcomed the basic interstate treaty between Hungary and Slovakia. It is great progress in the stabilization of relations and the consolidation of democracy in this country. However, I have to stress once again that my visit is not an inspection visit inasmuch as there is no category of postcandidate countries. Countries are either members of the CE or they are not. Slovakia is already a member country, which is no longer in need of inspection. Slovakia needs support and opportunities to cooperate. I arrived here today with such support. [end recording]

[Skocek] We also asked Ivan Gasparovic, chairman of the National Council of the Slovak Republic, about the main topics of today's talks with Miguel Angel Martinez.

[Begin Gasparovic recording] Every meeting with Mr. Martinez brings new ideas and sometimes a new evaluation of events. Mr. Martinez is a very progressive politician, and this always becomes obvious in our discussions. We talked yesterday about Europe, the European Union, the Council of Europe. We talked about membership conditions, and Mr. Martinez clearly said that Slovakia should stop acting as a candidate because it is a regular CE member. [passage omitted] Mr. Martinez clearly says that Europe cannot exist without European countries. [end recording]

[Skocek] We were interested to know whether the view on Slovakia changed in Strasbourg after the ratification of the Council of Europe framework convention on the protection of ethnic minorities in the Slovak parliament.

[Begin Gasparovic recording] Mr. Martinez appreciated the fact that three countries have ratified the framework convention, one of them being Slovakia. The other two countries are his homeland, Spain, and then Romania. Indeed, he highly appreciated this fact. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Meets Parliamentary Officials

LD1809162395 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1500 GMT 18 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Miguel Angel Martinez, chairman of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe, today met in Bratislava with representatives of the National Council deputy clubs and members of the parliamentary Foreign Committee. He briefed them on the current work of the Parliamentary Assembly, which is considering its expansion—for example, including Russia and some countries of the former Yugoslavia.

Pal Csaky, chairman of the deputy club of the Hungarian Coalition, handed over to Miguel Angel Martinez a document on the position and topical problems of the Hungarian national minority in Slovakia. It notes, among other things, that there has been no progress in the matter of doing away with the collective guilt of the Hungarians that, according to Csaky, is incorporated in the protocol on the acceptance of Slovakia to the Council of Europe.

Dusan Slobodnik, chairman of the parliamentary Foreign Committee and head of the delegation of deputies in the Parliamentary Assembly, rejected the document as extreme demands of political representatives of the Hungarian national minority.

Government Outlines Activities for 1996-98

LD1809144295 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 0500 GMT 18 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] At a news conference held at the end of a four-day meeting of Cabinet ministers, state secretaries, and experts in Trencianske Teplice, Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar said that the government is clear about its program of economic, social, cultural and other activities for 1996-98. The basic goal of the economic policy will be support for export and technical and investment development.

With regard to investments, the government considers its priorities to be the construction of highways, the power industry, and housing. The government has approved a variant administrative division based on setting up eight administrative regions with centers in Kosice, Presov, Banska Bystrica, Zilina, Trencin, Nitra, Trnava, and Bratislava.

The ministers have decided to invite President Michal Kovac to a Cabinet meeting. The invitation is linked to the president's recent interview in NARODNA OBRODA, in which he says that the SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA daily, beside being interested in the bank accounts of his abducted son, should also be interested in the foreign bank accounts of Cabinet members, the

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prime minister, and other people around the prime minister.

HZDS Praises Program

LD1809202695 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1630 GMT 18 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The political executive of the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS] praised at its session in Bratislava today the results of the four-day government session in Trencianske Teplice, which outlined the program of activities up to 1998. It mainly praised the fact that the government had prepared a working document of the budget for the coming year that envisages a marked decrease of indebtedness toward the banks and, in the sphere of investments, gives priority to highway building and housing.

The HZDS political executive, at the same time, expressed a protest against the statements of President Michal Kovac that blacken members of the Cabinet and cause tension in the internal political life of Slovakia.

Amendment Changing Burden of Proof in Libel Cases

AU1909081395 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 16 Sep 95 pp 1-2

[Article by Zita Sujova, Ivan Samel: "Private Executors Will Start Executing Some Court Decisions"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Bratislava—The 14 September session of the National Council of the Slovak Republic opened with a vote on the amendment to the law on health insurance. [passage omitted] Under the amendment, health insurance companies will require at least 300,000 insured persons to be able to operate. [passage omitted] Apart from other issues, the amendment also addresses the issue of payment for the treatment of homeless people who do not have a contract with any insurance company. The amendment transfers this burden to the state.

Parliament also discussed and approved the draft law on court executors. Minister of Justice Jozef Liscak said that executors who are independent of the state have a success rate of up to 70 percent in collecting due payments, while, proportionately with growing state involvement, the success rate drops to 30 percent. A further aim of the law is to unburden courts, which have until now been securing also the execution of court decisions. Court executors will have to pass professional tests and require state authorization for their activity. They are private persons, however, and may employ additional people to perform their duties. The law will go into effect on 1 December of this year.

The draft amendment to the Code of Civil Procedure (OSP) was again introduced by Minister of Justice Jozef Liscak. The aim of the amendment, according to the minister, is to simplify, rationalize, and expedite court proceedings, particularly in commercial and inheritance cases, but also in libel disputes. [passage omitted] J. Kvarda (Hungarian Coalition), member of the Constitutional and Legal Affairs Committee, disagreed with the sixth chapter of the amendment, concerning libel cases, which shifts the burden of proof to the accused person. He said that, when it comes to the burden of proof, one should proceed from Roman law, according to which he who sues must also bear the burden of proof. He agreed with the opinion of the Association of Judges of Slovakia, according to which some principles of the amendment represent a return to the pre-1989 period. In explaining the change, the explanatory statement on the amendment states that the injured party has no other means of effectively defending himself against verbal attacks and [libelous] statements in the mass media than by denying their veracity. This is why the burden of proof is being transferred to the defendant, who must prove that he was speaking the truth. [passage omitted]

A total of 76 of the 115 deputies present voted for the amendment, 29 voted against, and 10 abstained.

The chairman of the session then adjourned the meeting of parliament until 20 September.

Contravenes Human Rights Documents

AU1909081495 Bratislava SME in Slovak 16 Sep 95 p 4

[Commentary by Juraj Hrabko: "In Contravention of International Documents"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] On 14 September, National Council of the Slovak Republic deputies passed an amendment to the Code of Civil Procedure. While, according to the explanatory report, the aim of the amendment is to "rationalize and facilitate court proceedings, in particular, in commercial and inheritance cases," an interesting discussion developed on Article 200, dealing with proceedings in libel cases, not only because this article sets out the courts' duty to start acting "no later than 30 days after the charges were filed" and to make a decision "no later than one year after the charges were filed," which can boldly be described as another specific Slovak privilege, but, above all, because the article stresses that the burden of proof lies with the accused person, not with the plaintiff.

I will now leave aside ordinary conflicts between people and the virtually nonexistent cases of media filing charges against politicians. Much more realistic in the

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current situation are cases of charges being filed by politicians against the media. As a matter of fact, it was from this point of view that the revision of this part of the Code of Civil Procedure was prepared. It is therefore necessary to stress once again that this understanding of personality protection is in direct conflict with decisions of the European Human Rights Court. As many as nine years ago, this court criticized the Austrian law on damage to reputation because it put the burden of proof on the accused person, not the plaintiff, and said that this provision itself "may represent a violation of freedom of speech and information." It is perhaps needless to recall that the European Human Rights Convention is binding on Slovakia. [passage omitted]

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Ministry Condemns 'Ethnic Cleansing' in Vojvodina

LD1909111895 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1100 GMT 19 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The Hungarian Foreign Ministry has again condemned the ethnic cleansing in Vojvodina because it has judged that the living conditions of Hungarians in Serbia have deteriorated further. Gabor Szentivanyi, foreign affairs spokesman, stressed that Hungary expects the Serb authorities to make a stand against the extremist manifestations, to place the Vojvodina Hungarians under their protection, and to do everything in the interest of settling the grave situation that has evolved.

MDF Head Questions Suitability of Horn, Ministers

AU1909074095 Budapest UJ MAGYARORSZAG in Hungarian 15 Sep 95 pp 1, 4

[Interview with Lajos Fur, chairman of the Hungarian Democratic Forum, by Tibor Franka in Budapest on 13 September: "Fur Will Not Go to Horn"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Lajos Fur, chairman of the Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF], briefed the press about the MDF National Committee meeting held on 13 September. He spoke about the MDF position, the current state of the Hungarian health care, the six-party meetings, and the Bokros package. We asked Lajos Fur to justify his opinion according to which Hungary does not have a prime minister, and, gradually, not even ministers.

[Fur] In my opinion, Hungary does not have a prime minister since the latest coalition scandal; as for the other ministers, the suitability of quite a few ministers is questionable these days. First, I would mention the professional ability of the leadership of the Defense Ministry. They want to reduce the size of the army by half; a country of 10 million inhabitants with an army of 100,000 troops. Romania, with a population of 22 million people, has an army of 240,000 soldiers and Slovakia, with its 5 million people, has an army of 50,000 soldiers.

[Franka] Do you oppose this reduction because of Hungary's historical and geographical situation?

[Fur] This is only natural, because I am concerned about this country's security.

[Franka] In your view, what other ministers are unsuitable for their position?

[Fur] Lajos Bokros, because the Constitutional Court questioned his famous package on seven different points. This is so even if [Constitutional Court President] Laszlo Solyom's wages have been made public in order to intimidate him. Mr. Solyom is a tough man who will defend the Constitution in every circumstance. Welfare Minister Gyorgy Szabo is also unsuitable, because he is ignorant regarding the issue of family allowance, just like Justice Minister Pal Vastagh, whose task was to draw the attention of the aforementioned gentlemen in time to the points that violated the Constitution. In addition to antifamily and even antisocial decisions, a centralizing effort continues to gain ground, an effort aimed at placing the self-government bodies even more in the hands of the legislation. The reduction in the number of hospital beds and the closing of hospitals keeps 3,000 healthcare workers in constant fear, and several million poor people might die earlier because they will not have money for medical treatment.

[Franka] You announced that, just like before, you would not go to Gyula Horn this time either. Why?

[Fur] I will not go because, at the previous meeting, the MDF was represented by Ivan Szabo, head of the MDF group in Parliament, and Imre Konya, deputy head of the MDF group in Parliament, because issues of the Constitution are not among the tasks of the party chairman.

[Franka] In your view, what does the prime minister want?

[Fur] He would like to get closer to the opposition and hopes for greater political support than hitherto. However, we will stick to our own concepts and proposals. For example, we cannot accept the media bill formulated by the Alliance of Free Democrats [SZDSZ].

[Franka] Jozsef Torgyan, chairman of the Independent Smallholders' Party [FKGP], declared recently that the Christian Democratic People's Party [KDNP] was the closest party to the FKGP. What is the opinion of the Civic Alliance about this?

[Fur] Regarding their style and political concepts, the MDF, the KDNP, and the Federation of Young Democrats [FIDESZ] are really close to each other. However, one should be open to the other opposition parties as well, including the FKGP. At the same time, it is intolerable that a party chairman constantly criticizes and curses the MDF. We have nothing against maintaining contacts, but we are against the very things that question the keeping of correct relations.

[Franka] What is your opinion about the antigovernment demonstration planned by the Hungarian Justice and Life Party [MIEP] for 23 October?

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[Fur] The Civic Alliance also considers the possibility of holding a serious demonstration, and coordination talks between the three parties are currently under way.

[Franka] Is it possible that the demonstration will turn out to be the joint event of the Hungarian opposition?

[Fur] I think that this possibility cannot be excluded.

Left-Wing Group Attacks Economic Reforms

LD1609142795 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1000 GMT 16 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The left-wing group of the Hungarian Socialist Party [MSZP] is discussing the present political and economic situation at a national conference. Many people have been looking forward to the conference with great interest because, according to certain analysts, the ruling party's economic reforms are not threatened so much by the opposition and the resistance of society as by the left-wing forces of the Socialists. Kata Peli-Nagy reports from the conference center in Villanyi Street;

[Peli-Nagy] The left-wing group, which is preparing for the party congress in the fall, has vehemently and bluntly criticized the government and the coalition. The prime minister himself was also attacked both openly and covertly. I quote from some of the speakers: Someone who does not understand why it is wrong to appoint the former industry minister as president of one of the largest state companies must know as much about public opinion as a color blind person about painting.

Pal Fillo, parliamentary deputy, has characterized the work of the [MSZP] parliamentary group so far by saying that sometimes they are forced to adopt dismally bad bills. They have hardly any say in the preparation of economic bills and the management of economic policy is in one hand.

Very many people asked for leave to speak. It has transpired that the left wing of the MSZP, comprising several hundred people, is downright ashamed of the unconstitutional nature of part of the Bokros package. They thought appropriately trained legal experts were behind the party. Some felt that the party became ridiculous as a result of the fiasco. At the same time, many do not understand why it was necessary to antagonize whole groups of society for a minimum financial gain.

There are no plans to deal with personnel issues or to create a manifesto at the MSZP congress in the fall. The various trends within the party, however, are vigorously preparing to express their opinion. The left-wing group will prepare a manifesto of principle and is making arrangements to lead the party back, as they said, to original principles. In their view, this will be the last chance for correction in order to avoid a defeat in 1998. They consider that their party is rife with infighting and lobbying and that it has distanced itself from the voters' interests. They consider that the fall congress is an historic moment which, if it does not yield a result, will exclude the left wing as a factor from politics for the next 30-40 years, and that the extremist right wing will come to power instead.

Coalition Talks Interrupted by SZDSZ Walkout

LD1909111795 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1000 GMT 19 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] After barely 30 minutes of discussions, the coalition coordinating talks were interrupted; the delegation of the smaller government party, the SZDSZ [Alliance of Free Democrats], walked out on the prime minister. Gyula Horn and Gabor Kuncze will now continue the discussions on a tete-a-tete basis within a week. Judit Laszlo has more details:

[Laszlo] Once the tete-a-tete discussions are over, in a week's time the Coalition Coordinating Council will reconvene, and after that so will the two parties' leading forums, that is the HSP [Hungarian Socialist Party] Presidium and the SZDSZ executive body, said SZDSZ Chairman Ivan Peto after the discussions.

So, the joint consultation planned for tomorrow will not be taking place. The two government parties are of the view that the prime minister and his coalition deputy have a better chance of reaching an agreement on the disputed issues in a less formal framework. Ivan Peto said that the talks must be concluded within a week, or at all events after one week.

At a press briefing held a short while ago, it was also said that at the session of the Coalition Coordinating Council the prime minister evaluated the events of the past two weeks. However, HSP Executive Deputy Chairman Sandor Csintalan did not divulge any details about this. In his view there is a chance for agreement; after all, government men will be talking to each other. Incidentally, Sandor Csintalan believes that the debate under way about improving governmental work is a professional and not a political one.

As is known, two weeks ago the Coalition Coordinating Council decided to set up two committees for settling the disputes, but only in one of them did they succeed in formulating general principles for ending occasional tensions. In the other committee they did not manage to clarify the debate connected with the government transformation.

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The debate by now is not just about whether there should be an Economic Ministry, or whether a minister without portfolio should head the prime minister's office, or whether the government's communications relations should be overseen by a political state secretary, or about the conditions on which the SZDSZ would accept these proposals. One of the main questions is how the prime minister, by changing the coalition agreement, could increase his political freedom, his sphere of authority and competence, enabling him, for example, to have a free hand in deciding about the dismissal of government members. Whereas the SZDSZ wants to continue to exercise its right of agreement in government decisions.

Opposition Rejects Government Criticism of Court

LD1509225295 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1600 GMT 15 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The opposition parties participating in today's five-party consultation are unanimous in their rejection of the government's statement criticizing the Constitutional Court, in which the cabinet accused the Court of paralyzing the economic reforms.

The opposition parties consider the government's statement published yesterday unacceptable. Tamas Izsepy, parliamentary group leader of the Christian Democratic People's Party [KDNP] said that the government could not judge the court's work. The politician believes that the government can contemplate abolishing the Constitution and the Constitutional Court. In this case, there will be no more constitutional problem indeed. However, if it chooses the most difficult road—that is, sticks to constitutional statehood—then it has to prepare bills concomitant with the Constitution.

The parliamentary group leader of FIDESZ-MPP [Federation of Young Democrats—Hungarian Civic Party] said that the statement was irresponsible. Jozsef Szajer considers that the Constitutional Court cannot be made responsible for the state of the economy. The government should change the bad proposals rather than continue the bombardment of parliament with the same impossible proposals again and again.

Ivan Szabo, parliamentary group leader of the Hungarian Democratic Forum said that he considered the government opinion, according to which the ruling limited the government's work and put obstacles in the functioning of the economy, shocking. Ivan Szabo recalled that the social and economic transformation can be carried out according to the Constitution. If the Horn cabinet can only replenish the sums lost as a result of the ruling of the Constitutional Court judges by raising taxes, it is only the shame of the government, Szabo added.

Court Does Not Want Dispute

LD1609132195 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1100 GMT 16 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The Constitutional Court is not willing to get involved in a war of messages with the government. Geza Kilenyi, a member of the court, announced this after the government issued a statement expressing regret over the Constitutional Court's ruling abolishing several parliamentary decisions which were part of the stabilization program.

He said they do not want to get involved in an argument because the constitutional judges know precisely how a democratic legal state operates and how far their legal authority extends. The judge also said they do not want to evaluate the government's work in a statement.

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U.S. Peace Plan Seen as Prelude to Partition

AU1909110595 Sarajevo OSLOBODJENJE (Bosnian) in Serbo-Croatian 4 Sep 95 p 2

[Article by Muhamed Filipovic, leader of the Liberal Bosniak Organization and Bosnian ambassador to Britain: "The Prelude to Partition"]

[FBIS Translated Text] What can, according to current knowledge, be said about the contents of the latest U.S. offer for a peace agreement? I think that it is still blurred and that not everything it contains is known. Nothing can be said especially about the delicate details that are usually—as experience teaches us—the most important part of a plan. It can, however, be said even now that the plan does not bring anything significantly new compared with the so-called Contact Group plan. This means that it basically foresees that control of the territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina will be divided according to the principle 49 percent for the Serbs and 51 percent for the Muslims and Croats.

A new element in this proposal is the exchange of territories. There have been such proposals before, made both by Karadzic and Milosevic. We were right to refuse them, however. Such proposals have their roots in old ideas related to the partition and rearrangement of territories, in which Bosnian territories have in indirect ways always been a subject of trade with the aim of achieving the territorial homogenization of ethnic groups. The same logic is being applied now, since it has been proposed to us to exchange the territories in eastern Bosnia for others in the vicinity of Sarajevo.

The Consequences of Partition

Any such exchange of territories in effect implies partition of Bosnia and creates the prerequisites for it. The main impediment to any division of Bosnia between the Serbs and the Croats has always laid both in the fact that the Muslims were the largest ethnic group in the country and in the fact that they were scattered throughout the whole of its territory and that any partition would have necessarily meant the elimination of that nation. Preparations are under way now to remove that impediment by rearranging the distribution of the Muslim population.

This solution is insisted on without taking into consideration the fact that everything is done with the use of violence, which has resulted in a large number of Muslim victims; neither has it been taken into consideration that all such attempts failed everywhere else and that they all have always ended with violence and genocide.

The history of such rearrangements, with Hitler, Stalin and others, belongs to the most tragic pages of world history. For this reason and for the sake of the survival of Bosnia we must refuse this proposal.

In which way and in which sense does this possibility put not only the Muslim population but also Bosnia at stake? First of all, to live like a human being means to have one's own country, one's home country. People are connected with it with a legion of existential, civilizational, traditional, and cultural connections and needs.

According to their nature, our people are not immigrants, they are not nomads either. They have always lived in their home country. By losing their country—regardless of the reason why—they would lose the basis of their existence. That is why the UN Convention on Genocide defines genocide as the abolition of the living conditions of an ethnic group that are natural for them, which they are used to and connected with according to their history and tradition.

Bosnia-Herzegovina would be especially affected by such shifts. It is a country and a state with the most stable borders on the continent, excluding the island states.

It should come to the homogenization of the Serbs in those parts of the territory where they have never had a majority (they had a relative minority in Foca, and an absolute minority in Gorazde, Visegrad, Rogatica, Srebrenica, Bratunac, and Zvornik), since these areas were densely populated by the Muslim population. Neither the immigration from Serbia nor the ferocious massacres of Muslims by chetniks during World War II could change the fact that the Muslim population accounted for the absolute majority of 57 percent in Rogatica, and 76 percent in Bratunac.

The present genocide and especially what happened in Srebrenica and Zepa in front of the world was aimed at reducing the population by expelling it from these territories. One of the aims was to scare the people, in order to prevent them from returning. It is now being proposed that all this be legalized. This would in a legal and legitimate way bring the border between Serbia and Bosnia to the line connecting Sarajevo, Breza, Vares, Kakanj, Zenica, Zepce, Maglaj, Doboj, Tesanj, and from there over the slopes of Mount Vlasic to Lasva and the upper Vrbas and Pliva streams. This would be an area that is quite insufficient for the survival of two and a half million Muslims, but another consequence would be even more tragic.

A Temporary Veil

Such a homogenization and relegation of Muslims to the background would be the introduction to, the invitation

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to, and the first act in the dissolution of Bosnia. If we add that this plan also includes the creation of two wonderful states in the territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina, which are euphemistically called entities—and it is planned that these two states are closely connected, including legal ties, with other states, in this case with their own home countries—it is clear that what is left of the state of Bosnia-Herzegovina, materialized in the union of two entities, that is the state of the "Croatian-Muslim Federation" and the "Serb Republic," will only be a temporary veil that should hide the fact that our state is practically being abolished.

Everything else said in connection with that plan, both in the sense of what is being offered as the carrot to make the plan digestible, especially for the Muslim side, as well as in the sense of what is being promised in case of so-called disobedience, that is, the refusal of the plan, is a lie. Regarding our experiences with all representatives of the so-called international community we do not have any reason to be optimists.

How and why should we believe that their awareness of and concern for us have awoken right now if we know that during the three and a half long years of war they have not done anything to help us; on the contrary they have passively followed the massacres from the very beginning? All this makes us extremely careful, it forces us not to accept anything hastily—although the initiative should not be refused. We should not accept anything that is not at the level of our present possibilities, anything which would not grant our people the basic conditions for life, and our state the continuity of its existence. We should not be the generation in the 1,000-year history of Bosnia that should confirm its disappearance.

Paper Claims U.S. Plan Doomed To Fail

AU1709174995 Split SLOBODNA DALMACIJA in Serbo-Croatian 15 Sep 95 p 5

[Article by Bruno Lopandic: "NATO Is Erecting 'Bosnian Wall' in Bosnia-Herzegovina"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The plans of U.S. Assistant Secretary of State Richard Holbrooke for the division of Bosnia into two entities are collapsing like a house of cards in front of the Croat-Bosniak offensive. The latest NATO plans envisage a clear division on east and west at the existing line of separation between the Bosnian Serbs and the Bosnia-Herzegovina government. UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] will soon leave and it will be replaced by NATO units. SLOBODNA DALMACIJA has exclusively obtained secret information on a completely different denouement of events in Bosnia-Herzegovina, the details of Holbrooke's plan, the maps for territorial division, and NATO plans.

The U.S. initiative is doomed to failure, while Holbrooke and his chief Clinton have found themselves in front of a knot they cannot untie, a western diplomat told us. What is all this actually about?

Assistant Secretary of State Richard Holbrooke brought a number of proposals in his bag a day after Operation Storm was completed. This fact will fundamentally determine the fate of future diplomatic efforts. What was proposed by the first and the original plan that Holbrooke presented to all the warring sides, the one that all of them agreed on during the first round of negotiations, is the following: "republika srpska" [Serb Republic], which was legalized at the last meeting in Geneva, should look like a horseshoe. It would include Drvar, Kljuc, Jajce, Prijedor, Banja Luka, and the whole of Bosnian Posavina, including Gradacac. Holbrooke's plan envisages broadening the Posavina corridor by 20 kilometers. The border of the "republika srpska" would continue along the Drina River all the way to the border with Croatia. Holbrooke has planned, and as diplomatic sources say, all sides have agreed, including Izetbegovic, that Zepa and Srebrenica definitely no longer constitute parts of Bosnia-Herzegovina. According to the U.S. plan, only Gorazde would be part of the federation. This is why Holbrooke has tried to negotiate with the Serbs a small corridor to Gorazde. In the case of the Bosnian Posavina, the only thing that would be left to the Croat-Bosniak side is the Orasje pocket. In his bag Holbrooke brought draft maps, but did not dare show them to any side in the form of a definite proposal for fear that some of them could reject them straightaway, as has happened to the Contact Group's plan. If everything is to happen the way Holbrooke has envisaged and the way he has divided the territory according to the 51:49 principle, we would have two entities with two "strong governments" that would practically have all the powers of sovereign states. They would have their currency, army, internal legal system, and police. Sarajevo as the umbrella administration would only be left with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and international identity.

"You can forget all the stories about the integrity of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Milosevic had insisted on 'equal treatment' of the Confederation of Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia, and Serbia and 'republika srpska.' Holbrooke has agreed to that," we were told by a top official close to the Contact Group's sources.

Jolted Americans

In the meantime the military actions by the Croat forces and the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina have jolted

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the U.S. initiative in the real sense of the word. The western part of the Serb horseshoe is slowly melting, and in the event of the "fall" of Banja Luka, NATO military analysts think, the Posavina corridor and the arrangement which Holbrooke has planned for it, would lose every sense. What will the map of separation look like at the end? Many analysts have recently been trying to find an answer to this question. On the other hand, many are seeking the hidden intentions of the U.S. Administration, claiming that there is "another plan behind this plan." What are we actually talking about?

We have learned exclusively from super secret sources and are the the first in the world to report that NATO is making strategic plans for the definitive demarcation line between the East and the West on the territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Although careful planning is still in progress, it is already known that NATO should fill in the gap that UNPROFOR is going to leave. UN special envoy Yasushi Akashi has left for New York to accomplish two things: To try to prevent the third option according to which NATO would carry out more air strikes on Serb soldiers (NATO is seriously considering this option), and to agree to the withdrawal of UNPROFOR from Bosnia-Herzegovina. According to the latest information from the last meeting of NATO Council, the planning has already started. According to top secret information, instead of UNPROFOR, NATO would assume the role of peacekeeping or something like that. "NATO does not intend to deploy its forces on the internationally recognized borders of Bosnia-Herzegovina, but only on the so-called internal borders, the lines of separation between the Bosnian Serbs and the Bosnia-Herzegovina government troops." This was officially confirmed by Nicholas Florenze, a NATO official in Brussels during a telephone conversation with SLOBODNA DALMACIJA.

"Capture Whatever You Can"

In view of this it is quite clear that Holbrooke's plan is gradually disappearing from the scene and collapsing. Confidential sources have confirmed that Russian UNPROFOR units in Bosnia are refusing to leave. NATO's planners are envisaging in their initial plans a clear demarcation line for the future between the East and the West. According to the initial ideas, NATO forces would oversee the lines of separation in the east, exactly where the line of the front are at present, but will not be deployed on the territory held by the Serbs. This role is intended for the Russians and Ukrainians. In this way the Russians would be satisfied. The intention is to establish stability on the basis of this balance. Are the plans to create a new Berlin wall really being made? Why is the question of Sarajevo still being raised in the negotiations? Will Bosnia in the next 50 years represent the repetition of East and West Germanies?

"Holbrooke's plan has definitely failed. Do not be naive and capture militarily whatever you can as this will be the only guarantee for a good position in the future. Do not forget, the solution that is being prepared will affect your future for a long time," says a top-ranking NATO official, who wanted to remain anonymous at any cost.

He claims that Clinton has in fact been gamboling with the whole issue mainly because of internal political reasons. "This would not have happened to Kissinger if Nixon had given him a peace task somewhere in the world. Now with the increasingly certain failure of the U.S. initiative, Holbrooke will probably not get Warren Christopher's place that was promised to him if he succeeds in realizing the plan."

It will probably be some time before one can correctly determine what the U.S. initiative in fact was, and what its ultimate aims were. Was this a cover for something completely different, or just another failure of a plan that has been on shaky legs from the very start? Does the latest arrangement, according to which NATO would replace UNPROFOR, mean that the international community has after all given up what it has pledged, an integral Bosnia-Herzegovina? Perhaps we will after all have a just peace, a peace created through the force of victims of greater Serbian aggression.

Silajdzic Discusses Peace Plan, Sarajevo Siege

NC1809192295 London MBC Television in Arabic 1800 GMT 18 Sep 95

[Report on an interview with Bosnia-Herzegovina's Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic by MBC correspondent As'ad Taha; place and date not given—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] Bosnian Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic declared, in an interview with MBC, that the Bosnian forces will continue their operations against the Serbs even if they seize an area larger than the one allotted for them by the U.S. peace plan.

In an answer to a question posed by our correspondent As'ad Taha, Silajdzic rejected the agreement which NATO has signed with the Bosnian Serbs to withdraw their heavy weapons from around Sarajevo. [Begin recording] [Silajdzic] First of all, this agreement was not submitted to us. It is something between the Serbs and NATO. According to what we know, no agreement has been reached between the Serbs and the U.S. Government. Mr. Holbrook also rejected it and said so plainly. Regrettably, however, there is some ambiguity surrounding the matter and Sarajevo is still besieged.

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[Taha] Why are the Serbs refusing?

[Silajdzic] The problem is identifying which weapons are heavy weapons. The Serbs have said that 80-mm, 82-mm, and 60-mm mortars are light weapons. These particular weapons have killed around 10,000 Sarajevans.

[Taha] Does the Bosnian Government intend to reject the international peace plan which gives the Bosnians 51 percent of the country's territory, which they seized during recent battles anyway.

[Silajdzic] First of all, the Contact Group's proposals were on the table for a whole year. The Serbs rejected them. We still respect these proposals. However, everything depends on the Serbs' behavior and on whether they accept peace and the new situation. This situation involves a strong regular Bosnian army and a new attitude by the international community, supporting at least partly the just Bosnian cause. [end recording]

Silajdzic, Rifkind on Peace, 'Marshall Plan'

AU1809185095 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 18 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Haris Silajdzic, prime minister of the Republic and the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina, also held talks with the guest from Great Britain today. After a meeting with British Foreign Secretary Malcolm Rifkind, Prime Minister Silajdzic stated:

[Begin recording] The visit by British Foreign Secretary Rifkind provided an opportunity to discuss once again the peace process and the role of Great Britain, which is sometimes not property understood. Great Britain has done a lot in the humanitarian sphere and elsewhere to improve the situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

We paid special attention to the reconstruction of Bosnia-Herzegovina—what we call the Marshall Plan for Bosnia-Herzegovina—and Mr. Rifkind invited me to visit Great Britain to discuss the reconstruction of Bosnia-Herzegovina and the role of Great Britain in this venture. [end recording]

Sacirbegovic, Rifkind on Sarajevo Division

AU1809185195 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 18 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency, received British Foreign Secretary Malcolm Rifkind today. The meeting was also attended by Bosnia-Herzegovina Foreign Minister Muhamed Sacirbegovic.

They discussed the peace process and new ideas connected to it to implement the Geneva Agreements. They also discussed the situation around Sarajevo, as well as throughout all of Bosnia-Herzegovina. President Izetbegovic and Minister Rifkind agreed that the aggressor's denial of water, electricity, and gas to the Sarajevo residents could not be used as a means of war.

Following the talks with President Izetbegovic, British Foreign Secretary Malcolm Rifkind and Minister Sacirbegovic held a news conference.

Minister Sacirbegovic emphasized that the situation in Sarajevo continued to be difficult and said that we could not be satisfied with the lifting of the town's blockade and normalization of life in it for as long as the danger around the town was not removed. We agreed that much still needed to be done to normalize the situation in Sarajevo. I also believe that Minister Rifkind concurred with the idea about a unified Sarajevo. We also had an opportunity to discuss the situation in Gorazde with an emphasis that the humanitarian situation there was growing very serious. In connection with this immediate humanitarian aid for that region was demanded from the British Government, the chief of the Bosnia-Herzegovina diplomacy said, thanking the British Government for the efforts that it invested in resolving the crisis in Bosnia- Herzegovina.

According to Sacirbegovic, they also debated the current development of events in northwest Bosnia, especially the intentions of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Government connected to this region. Sacirbegovic also accentuated the fact that our forces were advancing and widening the free territories. They also discussed the status of Banja Luka which should according to the Geneva Agreement belong to the legal Bosnia-Herzegovina authorities. Sacirbegovic urged the people of Banja Luka to bow to the democratic processes and honor human rights, which would crate the conditions for a joint life on these territories.

Hailing the visit by President Izetbegovic and the Bosnia-Herzegovina delegation in London scheduled for this week, British Minister Rifkind stressed the importance of finding a peace solution as quickly as possible to end the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Presenting the data on the participation of the British soldiers in the UN Protection Force and the British participation in the humanitarian actions, he said that such aspects of aid and cooperation would continue. He confirmed the views aired by Minister Sacirbegovic pertaining to the lifting of Sarajevo's blockade and its integrity. Sarajevo must be an undivided town. There are to many bad examples in the world set by divided towns, Rifkind said.

Commenting on the events in northwestern Bosnia, Rifkind said it was important to set up a new political

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dialogue in connection with those territories. According to him, this is extremely important for restoring peace for all people in Bosnia-Herzegovina, as well as for the cessation of hostilities and a final peace settlement.

Bosnian Ambassador Discusses Peace Plan

95BA0344A Zagreb GLOBUS in Serbo-Croatian 25 Aug 95 pp 10-11, 50

[Interview with Muhamed Filipovic, ambassador of Bosnia-Herzegovina to Great Britain, by Ines Sabalic in London; date not given: "The Serbs Will Have To Be Satisfied With 33 Percent of the Territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina!"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Sabalic] Can you explain why in your government Mr. Sacirbegovic believes that the U.S. plan for Bosnia-Herzegovina is acceptable, while last week you criticized it very severely?

[Filipovic] Mr. Sacirbegovic had contact with Mr. Holbrooke, who has informed him about certain aspects of the plan. But the contact was such that definitive conclusions could not be drawn concerning the plan—not that the plan is good or is not good. One can only say—which is, I think, what Mr. Sacirbegovic said—that there are certain constructive aspects of the plan. But as far as my reaction is concerned, it was the same then as it is today: If the plan includes bargaining with territory, especially eastern territory, then it will fail. If it includes creation of a Serbian state, then it is not acceptable.

I rely directly on the statement of President Izetbegovic given to Sarajevo TV and the Bosnian public that we will never abandon Gorazde, even if the war should last 15 years.

That reaction is based on repeated observations that basically the main innovation of this plan—compared to the Contact Group plan, with which we are familiar—is the proposal that the Bosnian side abandon the eastern enclaves, and in exchange it would get certain areas around Sarajevo. But we have already had such proposals.

In the Geneva talks in 1993, Karadzic directly offered to give us Vogosca and Ilijas in exchange for Srebrenica and Zepa. Later, Milosevic also suggested the same possibility in another context; that is, he would relinquish Ilijas, Vogosca, and certain other areas to us in exchange for a widening in the corridor zone. We have always rejected such proposals, because we cannot bargain with territory.

The territory does not belong to the government, but to the nation and to the people living there, so that no one has the right to prevent the persons displaced from Srebrenica from going back and enjoying full rights as the majority population. The Muslim population in all the opstinas of the Drina Valley were in the large majority before the war. The Muslim majority went from 57 percent in Rogatica, 64 percent in Zvornik, 67 percent in Visegrad, 76 percent in Srebrenica, to 82 percent in Bratunac. There can be no talk about a secure and lasting peace if those areas that always, at least for the last 500 years, have been inhabited by the Muslim population and on which the Serbs have committed horrible atrocities are surrendered to the Serbs!

First, that would be immoral. Second, it would be political suicide, because the border that has stood for centuries on the Drina would be moved to the vicinity of Sarajevo. The main objective of Serbian policy—after they ejected the Muslim population from western Serbia in the previous stages—is to throw us back from the Drina to a border represented by the line drawn through Sarajevo, Zenica, and Doboj, and to take all of northeastern and eastern Bosnia.

Back when we were shown the Contact Group plan, we were told that we must accept it, because the Serbs are stronger. That is what Lord Owen and Mr. Stoltenberg told us. Even U.S. Defense Secretary Perry told us that we had lost the war. But that is not the case. After all, in the war we have nevertheless gained control of 40 percent of the territory, although we began literally empty-handed.

At the same time, the situation has altered considerably with the disappearance of the "Knin Krajina," which was a direct threat to Bosnia and Bihac. We have managed to defend Bihac, and we are turning the 5th Corps, one of our most elite units, to the defense of other regions, to the Sana Valley and Una Valley. And then the HVO [Croatian Defense Council] has achieved important success at Glamoc, Grahovo, and around Drvar, thereby opening up new avenues for the liberation campaign of our forces toward Jajce and Banja Luka. At the same time, the 7th Corps is putting resolute pressure on Donji Vakuf and Jajce: Our troops will soon advance to within range of Banja Luka.

Around Sarajevo, our troops have managed to broaden free territory by about 70 square kilometers. Those are successes that guarantee our advantage.

The U.S. Plan

[Sabalic] How did the international negotiators react when you presented these arguments of yours?

[Filipovic] The Serbs have committed horrible atrocities in Srebrenica and Zepa, but at the same time the idea and policy of an "expanded Serbia" from Karlobag

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to Virovitica, from Knin and Drnis to Pakrac in the southeast, have entirely failed. In that new situation, the point of departure can no longer be the premise that we have lost the war, that is, that the real relations on which the thesis was built that the Serbs should get 49 percent of the territory in Bosnia are unchangeable.

[Sabalic] What do you think, how much territory should the Serbs get in Bosnia-Herzegovina?

[Filipovic] The Serbs in Bosnia-Herzegovina should get the territory where they were the ethnic majority: approximately 32 to 33 percent, but not as Serbian territory. Those are parts of Bosnia.

[Sabalic] In your opinion, is Milosevic willing to agree to that?

[Filipovic] I think Milosevic will have to accept it. If international politics did not accept everything Milosevic says as an a priori necessity, but examined him realistically, then it would see a different picture. Milosevic is not so strong; his economy is weak and under sanctions. His political position is ruined in that the policy he suggested at Gazimestan in 1989 has been ruined and failed. The executors of that policy are today criminals, not politicians. Then it would be evident that Milosevic has already lost the war he started on 6 April by attacking Bosnia-Herzegovina, or before, in 1991, when he attacked Croatia.

[Sabalic] What are the conditions of your government for acceptance of the new U.S. plan?

[Filipovic] Our minimal conditions are that Milosevic recognize Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia as independent, self-sufficient, and sovereign states within the limits of internationally recognized borders. Second, he must close the borders, because he talks peace, but he is continuing to send convoys of material military aid and personnel to the criminals committing murders in Bosnia. Third, territory with an ethnic Croatian or Muslim majority cannot be turned over to administration of the Serbs, because they have proven that they are not capable of behaving in a civilized way. I ask you, how can you give the Serbs administration of Banja Luka, when they have demolished the mosques there, the Catholic churches, and they are driving out the population? What is happening there is a horror! And now you want to legalize those people's right to administer that region! In Prijedor, they murdered 33,000 people! Likewise, Bosnia must remain a unified state, and all the rest would be structures below the level of a state.

The U.S. coordination with the English is interesting: The English sent Christopher Soames, a minister in the Defense Ministry, to visit the leaders of the Islamic countries and win them over to support the plan before he even presented it to our government in Sarajevo! Another nonsensical thing is that the Bosnian Government and President Izetbegovic are the last to learn anything about its content.

The Split Document

[Sabalic] If your government holds at least two enclaves—Gorazde in the east and Bihac in the northwest—would this be the basis for recovering sovereignty over all of Bosnia-Herzegovina?

[Filipovic] I repeat, we will not accept any plan that does not guarantee that Bosnia-Herzegovina operates as a sovereign state and entity under international law. No division that turns Bosnia into a phantom state comes under consideration.

Our basic strategic aim, for which we have taken such casualties, 250,000 people, is Bosnia-Herzegovina as a state. Within it, we can devise constitutional and political arrangements that would guarantee maximum ethnic rights to each nationality provided they accept the sovereignty of Bosnia-Herzegovina as a legal entity under international law!

[Sabalic] Some people think that the government in Sarajevo consented to a division of Bosnia in the Split document....

[Filipovic] I do not interpret the Split document in that way, and I consider it progress in our relations. My position is that it has afforded a clearer position, because the previous document left many things unsaid, and in particular they did not facilitate implementation of the constructive aspects of the agreement. In future relations with Croatia, I am in favor of confederal relations. But Bosnia-Herzegovina as a state is the only entity under international law that can conclude such treaties. The Split Treaty was signed in the name of Bosnia-Herzegovina as a state, and it was signed by the president of the Presidency of Bosnia-Herzegovina, Alija Izetbegovic. As such, it cannot be applied only to a part of Bosnia.

[Sabalic] I would remind you that people are talking about unification of the functions of the republic and the federation.

[Filipovic] If integration of Bosnian space as an economic, legal, and human community is improved and speeded up, then I am absolutely in favor of that. One government can sit simultaneously in one term both as the government of the republic and as the government of the federation.

[Sabalic] Do you not think that this would nevertheless change the address?

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[Filipovic] No, the address of the state of Bosnia-Herzegovina is the Government of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, the Presidency, and the Assembly of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Gorazde

[Sabalic] The UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces] is withdrawing from Gorazde. Do you expect that they will be replaced by forces of the NATO alliance or Americans?

[Filipovic] No.

[Sabalic] Then the Serbs will enter Gorazde.

[Filipovic] Well, the UNPROFOR has not been defending Gorazde up to now, so that their departure will not signify any essential change. If necessary, we will defend and secure Gorazde, just as we defended Bihac. For that matter, the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina is close to Gorazde. And we now have enough forces to solve the problem in Bosnia under the terms of the strategic agreement between Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina, through the combined military activities of the HVO and the Bosnian Army.

The limiting factor is the embargo against the Bosnian Government importing arms, and I believe that one of the motives of U.S. pressure is to conclude an agreement to undermine Dole's initiative. If we accept the U.S. plan now, then that will mean that removal of the arms embargo has become pointless for the Sarajevo Government.

Guarantees

The entire action of Senator Robert Dole, Republican majority leader in the Senate, would be called into question, and President Clinton would win significant points in the election campaign. A year ago, the plan of the Contact Group was drawn up and had the United States behind it. They had the same man in the Contact Group, Richard Holbrooke!

The entire thing has been set up on the principle of "take it or leave it." The Serbs did not want to accept the plan, but no measures have been taken against them.

[Sabalic] Mr. Sacirbegovic has declared that he has obtained all possible guarantees from the Americans. The second part of the plan supposedly deals with military threats against the Serbs, the bombing of strategic Serbian positions, transportation routes, and the like....

[Filipovic] Threats have been made before. I do not believe in any guarantees and promises. I personally do not believe anything anyone says. I believe only in our soldiers and our people. I believe only in those who are today waging a fight for freedom and for democracy. I believe in Bosnia and in the people who have been going through these sufferings.

It is certain that the Americans will not send infantry to Bosnia, and a time could come when they would tell us: Gentlemen, we cannot put our aircraft in danger on your behalf! Up to now, the Americans have had countless occasions to show their will to protect us, and they have had political, legal, military, and humanitarian grounds for that. I think that the second part of the plan, the military part, which supposedly is to be favorable to us, is only the sweet part of the package, the carrot that they are using to get us to sign the main part.

[Sabalic] What is your comment on the announced arrival in Bosnia-Herzegovina of forces from Malaysia, Indonesia, and Turkey?

[Filipovic] It is not a question of whether the Indonesians and Malaysians will come to us now. The arrival of particular troops does not constitute any qualitative advance. We will not be protected by the Malaysians or Indonesians because they are Muslims, but because they have received a mandate from the international community. The same thing could be done by the English and French if they respected the principles of the international community.

[Sabalic] Are you in favor of the entire UNPROFOR withdrawing from Bosnia-Herzegovina?

[Filipovic] As Mr. Sacirbegovic has said here in London, the UNPROFOR has itself defined and terminated its mandate. We were not in favor of their leaving, and we are not in favor of that even now, because we do not want to take upon ourselves a decision that essentially is not ours: the decision for them to leave. However, they cannot go on as they have up to now, with no obligations, as the development of events concerning the eastern enclaves has demonstrated. They are leaving because they have failed; they have done nothing and made things worse, not because we have requested it. That would be a cheap return ticket.

Bildt, Milosevic...

[Sabalic] The Bosnian Government recently refused to receive the Swedish diplomat Carl Bildt on the grounds, and I quote: "Mr. Bildt offered a plan that is no longer worth anything anyway." What kind of plan did Carl Bildt offer when diplomacy was already fired up about the U.S. plan?

[Filipovic] Mr. Bildt offered a modified plan of the Contact Group with adjustments in the direction of the Serbian demands, above all to create a Serbian state entity and the possibility of a confederal linkage

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with Serbia, which we reject, because this would mean introduction of an "expanded Serbia" through the back door. We feel that Mr. Bildt has no authority for anything like that.

We feel that Mr. Bildt has nothing to tell us, at least nothing acceptable. Now that he has also insulted the Croats, this has also affected us. We did not reject Mr. Bildt. If he has anything to say, let him go ahead. Only we cannot cooperate with a man who insults our friends. What is more, Mr. Bildt has been operating in the direction of an idea advocated even before by Lord Owen: that the Serbs are the main force in this area and they should dictate and shape the situation.

And we rejected Mr. Stoltenberg because of obvious maliciousness, because of behavior that is incompatible with the tasks of an intermediary in peace negotiations.

[Sabalic] You were a negotiator with Serbian President Milosevic on behalf of the Bosnian Government concerning recognition of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

[Filipovic] I got the impression at that time that Milosevic was ready to recognize Bosnia and Croatia. I said: "Mr. Milosevic, you have to face what you have lost."

[Sabalic] What was his answer to that?

[Filipovic] He was silent. But he said that he would like to recognize Bosnia provided that this would be a union.... I said: "You cannot put your conditions for recognition. You started the war by not recognizing Bosnian independence. You have to end it by recognizing Bosnia." He said to me: "I told Karadzic: 'What do you want with Gorazde, what do you want with Zepa, what do you want with Srebrenica, where the Serbs never set foot? Let us tell them we will give them Ilijas, Vogosca, and that area around Sarajevo, and in return they will broaden our corridor from Samac in the direction of Bosanski Brod and Doboj, so that we would be secure.'"

[Sabalic] Why were the negotiations broken off?

[Filipovic] I am not certain. Bildt intervened, and the Americans.... I will comment on this for you with a parable: If I want to buy something from you, you will want to know exactly what I can offer you, just as I know what you can ask. But if all of a sudden my uncle from the United States appears on the scene and has a big bank account, you will naturally raise the price. I think that this is what happened with Milosevic: He saw the U.S. and European interest in obtaining the recognition, and he realized that he could raise the price.

Serbian Territory

[Sabalic] Did you tell me that you think that the Serbs in Bosnia ought to control about 30 percent of the territory?

[Filipovic] I said that they will never again have such a splendid offer of 49 percent of the territory. The situation is going to change.

[Sabalic] Many analysts believe that Milosevic's influence on the Bosnian Serbs is greater since the loss of "Krajina," because the Bosnian Serbs are now much more dependent on him, and the prospect offered by disobedience can be seen from the example of the Croatian Serbs. Now he could accept the peace plan.

[Filipovic] He now has much more room to maneuver, but I think that he dare not stake too much on that card, because now he might start to use blackmail. He still does not have the Bosnian Serbs in his hand.

I know the Serbs well. My family is from Glamoc and Kljuc. My family waged war with the Knin Serbs for 400 years, since the ancient days of the Kliski and Krcki sandzaks. My family had land in Ravni Kotari, in Drnis, in Trogirsko Polje. My great-great-grandfather Jusuf Alajbeg Filipovic rebuilt the Knin fortress when he took Knin. We are very much at home there, and I know very well the political thinking of the Serbs. We fought them in 1875, at the time of the so-called uprising, which actually was an invasion from Lika organized by the Russians and Austrians, and then in 1918, and in 1941, and now here again. They say one thing and do another. So that Milosevic is now in a position to tell the Bosnian Serbs: You have to listen to me, because otherwise everything will go to the devil. But he must not be excessively rewarded for that.

[Sabalic] We hear from circles close to your government that even this U.S. plan is buying time for the Serbs.

[Filipovic] Here is why: In the military sense, the Serbs are now on the defensive. If we sign now, then the first thing on the agenda will be a cease-fire. From what Holbrooke has hinted to us about the plan, the first thing would be cessation of all offensive actions of our Army. I am not saying that the Americans are intentionally helping the Serbs.

[Sabalic] How much territory, in your judgment, will the Serbs ultimately oversee in Bosnia?

[Filipovic] About 32 to 34 percent. I think that is what they will end up with.

[Sabalic] In what time frame, do you think?

[Filipovic] I think that everything will be by and large defined by the end of the winter.

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[Sabalic] Is the house of your family in Glamoc intact?

[Filipovic] No. All the Filipovices but one were driven out of Glamoc back in 1946. We were the richest, oldest, and best-known family in the Kliski Sandzak, well-known beys and alajbeys. They destroyed us definitively in 1942. They brought in special demolition experts to demolish our houses so that we could not go back. We had 28 houses before the war, and they were all destroyed. The last Filipovic died in Glamoc in 1976, Salih-bey Filipovic, at the age of 106. We are long-lived.

Cooperation With Croatia

[Sabalic] You say "our forces now have the momentum, they are now advancing." To whom are you referring?

[Filipovic] The armed forces of Bosnia-Herzegovina, which consist of the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina and the HVO. Their joint command has difficulties, but relations are improving. It is immediately evident in the field how constructive this has been.

[Sabalic] On the basis of the Split document, the Croatian Army [HV] is also aiding you militarily.

[Filipovic] That assistance is completely legitimate under international law. It is politically legitimate in view of the interests of the Croatian state and the Bosnian state and our two peoples.

[Sabalic] Is not Sarajevo nevertheless a bit reserved about all that military aid from Croatia? What is the price to be paid?

[Filipovic] As for Croatia, the price is a free "krajina." If the 5th Corps had not defended Bihac so stubbornly, "Operation Storm" would not have been possible. Croatia had a good reason for carrying out "Storm." The Serbian troops were largely engaged at Bihac, which made the Croatian operation easier. Croatia got compact territory, and we liberated Bihac from the encirclement.

[Sabalic] Some Muslims nevertheless feel a little uncomfortable because of the presence of strong Croatian forces in Bosnia.

[Filipovic] Croatia has no interest in holding Drvar, but it has an interest in not allowing Drvar to operate as a beachhead for the return of Serbian forces to Knin.

[Sabalic] How did you feel when you saw the map that Paddy Ashdown gave to the London TIMES?

[Filipovic] Why has that map been revealed only now? Paddy Ashdown has known about it for a long time, but it was only three weeks ago that he wrote a letter to Silajdzic, right when it was launched in the TIMES! Perhaps Mr. Tudjman was only examining some situation. I myself was a witness when a chapter of the Rotary Club organized conferences in the mid-1960's in Primosten and other places where they seriously deliberated the division of Bosnia.

If we take a very benign view of that, then it is a sketch of how Bosnia would look in some Serbian-Croatian division. But that is unrealistic, because it envisages compact Serbian territory on the east and movement of Bosnia's border. The Bosnian border on the Drina is not only for Bosnia, but also for Croatia.

[Sabalic] Will Croatia and Bosnia be in agreement with respect to the new U.S. plan? Will you consult with the Croats?

[Filipovic] Of course. When the plan is fully articulated, we will consult on our approach. Talks between us have been very fruitful and extensive. I do not know whether we will act in concert, because in Bosnia and Croatia there are different procedures for making political decisions. With us, the parliament decides, and with you, the president of the republic.

UN: Serb Losses Result of 'Political Decisions'

AU1509180795 Paris AFP in English
1749 GMT 15 Sep 95

[by Diane Bartz]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Zagreb, Sept 15 (AFP)—Massive Bosnian Serb losses on the battlefield in recent days are not a result of military defeats, but of political decisions to choose what land to give up, a UN official said Friday.

For much of the three-year civil war, Bosnian Serbs have held 70 percent of the country but this past week has seen a series of unprecendented gains by Bosnian Croats and government forces in the west.

The town of Jajce and its hydro-electric plant fell, along with Drvar, Bosanski Petrovac, Donji Vakuf, Kulen Vakuf.

In addition to sending up to 50,000 refugees flooding from their homes, the gains brought Bosnian Serbs down to about 58 percent of Bosnia-Hercegovina, according new intelligence reports cited by a UN official in Sarajevo.

At first it was thought that the ease of the gains may have been due to the two weeks of air strikes and their disruption of Bosnian Serb command and control systems.

But recently the thinking has changed.

"There is a thought that there may have been a tactical withdrawal and may have reflected a degree of political

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realism," said a UN official, who argued that the Serbs were choosing which territory they would give up to reduce their holdings to the 49 percent proposed under the "contact group" plan.

"There's no sign that they were routed," he said, adding that the loss of the Ozren salient in north-central Bosnia was "uncontested."

A second UN official said that it was easier to appear to lose land on the battlefield than to give it away in an agreement.

"For the Serb leadership to order the relinquishing of territory after they had lost their mothers, uncles, brothers would be seen as a betrayal," the official said, describing the fighting as "not so much as a rout as a tactical withdrawal."

"There was no report of any substantial Bosnian Serb resistance," the official said.

Since the civil war broke out here three years ago, "contact group" and U.S.-backed peace plans have always accorded the separatist Serbs considerably less than the 70 percent of the territory that they held for two years.

And Serbs never really lost any territory until August, when the siege of the Bihac pocket was broken in the northwest by a Bosnian Serb, Croatian army and Bosnian Croat effort.

The Serb losses may throw a wrench into any maps created as part of a peace plan put forward by U.S. envoy Richard Holbrooke, whose thinking has been reportedly based on the contact group map and would give the Serbs 49 percent of the country and a Moslem-Croat Federation 51 percent.

That map had some ludicrous features, giving the government much of central Bosnia and spots in the east and west. The Serb territory was concentrated in the west, but with a stretch down the eastern side of the country.

With the gains made since the beginning of the month, some of the anomalies of the holdings were smoothed out. The Serb and Bosnian government-held territory now rather resembles two pincers fitted together.

The last anomaly is Gorazde, an eastern Moslem enclave completely surrounded by Serb-held territory. Both sides have insisted they want it.

The first UN official suggested that one of the reasons that Bosnian General Ratko Mladic may have resisted pulling back his big guns from around Sarajevo was that it would weaken his bargaining power in regard to the capital.

The Holbrooke plan would swap Gorazde for Serb-held territory around the Bosnian capital Sarajevo.

Assembly Supports Negotiators, Amendment 84

AU1809194495 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 18 Sep 95

[Report by Jasminko Krehic on the Bosnia-Herzegovina Assembly session held in Sarajevo on 18 September—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Krehic] Steering the debate that threatened to spill over the boundaries of expeditiousness, President Izetbegovic warned the deputies that they were discussing principles and not a document that should either be accepted or rejected. He proposed that they extend support to the negotiating team.

Stressing the results of the Geneva principles, [Foreign] Minister Sacirbegovic said that these laid the foundations for the current successes on the ground and safeguarded the guarantees of the United States and the Islamic countries for military assistance to Bosnia-Herzegovina. We will also discuss, the minister said, the inclusion of our country in NATO's Partnership for Peace program and the institutions of the European Community. There is no division of Bosnia-Herzegovina, which Sacirbegovic illustrated with an on-the-spot translation of item one:

[Sacirbegovic] Item one stipulates: Bosnia-Herzegovina continues its international and legal existence and maintains its subjectivity, as it says here, within its present borders and with uninterrupted international recognition. In English: continuation of its legal existence. [preceding sentence in English] This means that it continues to be what it has been legally so far. Bosnia-Herzegovina is legally first and foremost a republic by name. Legally, it is what its Constitution stipulates, what its institutions embody, and it is all this as regards its sovereignty and territorial integrity [sentece as heard].

[Krehic] Geneva is not a goal but a stage, Deputy Enver Kreso said, and added:

[Kreso] Our goal is this other Bosnia, Bosnia without the chetniks, Bosnia with the Serbs, the Bosniaks, the Croats, and with others who live here. Therefore, we have set or goal, however, the content of this goal is slightly different.

[Krehic] Mirsad Ceman emphasized that in the continuation of the process, we should emphasize the fact that the original sovereignty belongs to the state of Bosnia-Herzegovina and not to any of its entities. Mariofil Ljubic proposed constant affirmation of the Vienna Agreements, with the continuation of the cooperation with the friendly nations, especially the Republic of Croatia.

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Deputies from the Bosnian Drina region, who voiced their opposition to the signing of a peace agreement at all costs, emphasized that Srebrenica and Zepa must be treated as an equal part of the federation in the talks and they rejected any barter with the free or occupied territories of the Drina region. They also proposed that experts from this region be included the expert team on maps.

The representatives for the interests of the citizens of the Bosnian Sava basin are opposed to ethnic corridors and advocate an absolute freedom of movement. Summing up the proposals and suggestions, President Izetbegovic expressed understanding for the critics in an effort to help them overcome the feeling of uneasiness:

[Izetbegovic] At a certain moment during the talks, I realized that this would be a militarily crushed Serb Republic. You, too, should place this adjective before that name and you will find it easier. Therefore, this is a militarily crushed Serb Republic. You see, things were connected. The achievement of the present development of events on the ground, including everything that is happening around Sarajevo and that will continue and hopefully end in the final lifting of the town's blockade as well as the military process that is underway, were closely linked to the events in Geneva. I believe I have said enough for those who are intelligent. You cannot ponder what sort of a chain of reasons and consequences led to this. One could thus say that the disappearance of the Serb Republic, in its essence, started in Geneva. It has started militarily and politically. As for militarily—you can see how the situation is developing. As for politically—it started with it agreeing in Geneva, believe it or not [words indistinct], to introduce human rights in the part of the territory under its control, to allow the return of refugees, and to grant freedom of the press and freedom of political parties. Now, can you imagine the Serb Republic with 12 political parties, which, for example, is how many parties are active in Sarajevo? What kind of the Serb Republic would that be? The evil that is embodied in this name is not something that could be obliterated by a decree. (?Victory is a burden). To tell you the truth, I no longer worry about our defeat. I see that some people still fear a defeat. Defeat is something that is behind us, the possibility of a defeat is behind us. However, the victory brings new problems. Remember this well, now is [word indistinct]. I wonder whether we will muster the strength to remain human winners, as we were human when we were receiving [word indistinct]. Let us strive to observe laws, laws of war, toward the civilians whom we are now encountering and also toward the prisoners. [applause] I am affair that there might be problems here. We will lose the sympathy of the world, which is very important for our future, if we fail to prove that we are humans at a certain level now. [supplying preceding paragraph not provided in initial FBIS version].

[Krehic] President Izetbegovic finally acknowledged numerous people who were not in the public eye, however, whose contribution to the lifting of the blockade of the Bihac region had been enormous. At the proposal of Assembly Speaker Miro Lazovic, the deputies passed a conclusion to extend support for the negotiating team and charged it to keep in mind in its future work the proposals and the suggestion made at the session. They also demanded that all information about the talks be presented to the parliament.

After the break, the Bosnia Herzegovina Assembly resumed its work at a quicker pace. Only the second item on the agenda gave rise to a polemic, as the opposition maintained that Amendment 84 to the republican constitution changed the character of the Electoral Law and that the citizens were being excluded from the election of the new members of parliament. Mirsad Ceman then stated that this was only a solution for war time, a solution that would allow the assembly to be a legitimate body. Enver Kreso also was of the opinion that the Assembly would gain qualitatively. If the election of the members of parliament were to rely on the selection from lists, then this would disrupt the party and ethnic balance of the deputies. After a debate, Amendment 84 was adopted. [passage omitted]

Herzeg-Bosnia's Defense Minister on Latest Gains

LD1709164695 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 15 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Correspondent] To discuss the results of the latest liberation operation carried out by Croatian forces in the area between Drvar and the Vrbas River [previously Serb-held western Bosnia], I am now joined by Vladimir Soljic, the defense minister of the [Bosnian] Croat Republic of Herzeg-Bosnia, who is in our studio in Siroki Brijeg. Good evening Mr. Soljic, can you describe the current situation, are there any new advances, and what is your assessment of the operations carried out so far?

[Soljic] [Passage omitted] We have liberated more than 2,000 square kilometers so far, even though every few hours we have to reassess the situation.

[Correspondent] The parliament of the Croat Republic of Herzeg-Bosnia has adopted a decision to incorporate the newly liberated territories in the Croat Republic of Herzeg-Bosnia. When and how will the civilian authorities be established, and when do you expect the refugees to return.

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[Soljic] We have learned a lot from the Republic of Croatia and we are trying to learn from Croatia not only in military matters, but also in civilian spheres. Croatia was very quick indeed in establishing its control and civilian authorities in its liberated areas. We are following this example and we have already appointed commissioners for these areas. [passage omitted]

MBO President: Geneva Agreement 'Catastrophe'

AU1509173695 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 15 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The Geneva agreement that was adopted by the foreign ministers of Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia, and rump Yugoslavia is a political agreement and a platform on the basis of which one has to carry out a definitive political and territorial division of the sovereign and internationally recognized state of Bosnia-Herzegovina, it is said in the statement issued on the occasion of the Geneva agreement by Muslim Bosniak Organization [MBO] President Adil Zulfikarpasic.

This agreement should legalize the results of a campaign of territorial occupation launched by Serbia, Montenegro, and the former Yugoslav People's Army, at one point joined by Croatia, and in which some Muslim nationalists tried to find their aims.

The Geneva agreement recognizes all discrepancies that were caused by nationalistic and political divisions, aggression, and the three and a half years of war, and reject a millennium-long experience and traditions on the basis of which (?in different forms) Bosnia-Herzegovina exists as a unified state entirety and her peoples live together laying (?equal) historical claims on the [word indistinct] of the territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The agreement, therefore, rejects 1,000 years [words indistinct] of a state entirety and civilization and accepts a four-year nationalist rage, fascism, and greater state ambitions as basic [word indistinct] for creating a new society and a new state.

[Word indistinct] on such foundations, this [word indistinct) state has no chance to [word indistinct]—it will be the constant cause of conflict. It is, therefore, impossible to realize democracy and the basic rights of people and nations. However, one tried to find some similarity with other states—for example, [words indistinct], this (?imagined) state creation has no equivalent in history or present times, and the said creation, due to completely different historical, political, economic, national, religious, and other conditions, is [word indistinct] founded and ultimately [word indistinct].

The realization of the Geneva agreement would [words indistinct] influence the position and future of the Bosnia-Herzegovina people—above all, the Muslim Bosniaks who are threatened with complete loss of identity, territories, and character of [word indistinct] people. In the [word indistinct] of cases, this agreement could give them a reservation where they would (?suffocate) and in which they are threatened by territorial isolation which will with time turn into spiritual isolation, dictatorship, and [words indistinct].

The Geneva agreement is a catastrophe worse than a military capitulation. [Words indistinct] character of a liberation struggle of Muslim Bosniaks and members of other peoples. It completely destroys and fails to confirm [words indistinct] results of the liberation struggle, its aims, and its idea. This is not only a military but also moral and civilizational capitulation that will have fatal psychological and other consequences on the entire Bosnian Muslim people. It will destroy its conscience, security, capability of living proudly and (?honestly).

In the [word indistinct] provisions of the Geneva agreement, we see the ultimate aim and result of a (?consequent) policy of destroying Bosnia-Herzegovina either through armed aggression or through incapability and treason. Therefore, we consider it to be our historical responsibility to clearly and unambiguously present to the people of Bosnia-Herzegovina what catastrophe awaits if the Geneva agreement (?turns into reality).

Hodzic: Geneva Accord 'Dissolution' of Nation

AU1509200595 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 15 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The Muslim Bosniak Organization [MBO] today held a news conference on the Geneva agreement, results achieved by the international community, and the contribution by the ruling factors in projecting the future of Bosnia-Herzegovina. MBO Vice President Mujo Kafedzic and Main Committee member Ahmet Hodzic addressed the journalists. Also publicly presented was the statement by MBO President Adil Zulfikarpasic containing views on Geneva principles. Stevo Latinovic reports:

[Latinovic] MBO Vice President Mujo Kafedzic spoke in a black-and-white style about the international community's [word indistinct] contribution on calming the situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina. White: With the latest actions carried out by NATO air raids with the cooperation of the Rapid Reaction Force, the international community has (?undermined) the morale of Karadzic's paramilitary and population. They have also inflicted huge material damage in weaponry, equipment, and (?capacities). NATO's actions and efforts on lifting

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blockade from Sarajevo are the result of the efforts exerted by French President Jacques Chirac. Facing the election race, U.S. President Clinton also comes forward as an initiator. The state must offer stimulative support to Chirac and Clinton.

One should keep in mind, Mujo Kafedzic pointed out, that Sarajevo is the key for solving Bosnia-Herzegovina crisis. Without a unified Sarajevo, there will be neither Sarajevo nor Bosnia-Herzegovina. [Words indistinct] aggressor's positions are weakening. He should not be trusted, however. Withdrawing heavy weapons from Sarajevo and meeting the other obligations is being done under the international community's direct control.

Ahmet Hodzic sees the Geneva agreement as a dissolution of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Such a state does not exist nor has it ever existed. It is a state without (?identity), as it does not exert power on its entire territory. Nobody has the right to sign such an agreement considered to be a capitulation. Even the Assembly has no right to (?divide) the territory, MBO Main Committee member Ahmed Hodzic said.

Komsic: Serbs 'Packing Up and Heading for Serbia'

AU1809111195 Cologne Deutschlandfunk Network in German 0400 GMT 18 Sep 95

[Interview with Ivo Komsic, member of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency and chairman of the Croatian Peasants' Party, by Rupert Neudeck; place and date not given—recorded; Komsic statements in Serbo-Croatian with superimposed German translation]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Neudeck] Is the partition of Bosnia really inevitable?

[Komsic] The almost mechanical movements in Bosnia may lead to the homogenization of ethnic groups in various areas. Nevertheless, the partition of the country cannot and will not take place except through a political decision. However, we will not make such a decision, because for us Bosnia-Herzegovina remains an undivided reality. As long as our Constitution does not decide anything else, we will remain in this single state, even though there will be strong homogeneous ethnic parts.

[Neudeck] Do you have the impression that, in the international negotiations, your government in Sarajevo is really a subject and not a mere object, as it was in the past few cases?

[Komsic] We have very often been faced with faits accomplis from the outside, designed to determine and dictate our behavior. I can guarantee that will never be a mere object. We will be a real subject in such negotiations and we will never again be really afraid of Karadzic's soldiers. If they continue to try to extend their territory, then they must be ready to wage war. The information that the Serbs in Bosnia are packing up and heading for Serbia also means that the other side is losing influence.

[Neudeck] What is the humanitarian situation like around Sarajevo these days?

[Komsic] The humanitarian situation in Sarajevo is extremely difficult. This siege has simply lasted too long. The tunnel under the airport has been the only supply route for us. However, now we are hoping that NATO's qualified threats will finally end this siege and that supplies will no longer reach us exclusively via the route over Mt. Igman, but also along the major road from Kiseljak, a much better road.

[Neudeck] Is it the Western powers' and NATO's greatest fear that your army will before long march into Sarajevo and end the blockade of the city and free it?

[Komsic] When the NATO action started on 30 August, we were asked to suspend all our activities, and we did. We have not launched any major military action around Sarajevo or anywhere else in Bosnia. Therefore, we think that the blockade of Sarajevo will be ended by NATO and NATO air power. It will not even involve any soldiers. We would prefer this because it would reduce the number of casualties.

[Neudeck] Mr. Komsic, FRG citizens, who have had great sympathy for your country in the past, are beginning to become tired in the same way as you may be becoming tired in Sarajevo, too. Considering what Germany has done in terms of humanitarian aid in the past, what can the Germans still do in terms of humanitarian aid and support for your country?

[Komsic] Germany has provided enormous and incomparable aid, something not only the government of this country has recognized but all the citizens, too, who have now been suffering from this ghetto-like situation for so long. Let me emphasize that it is not only the German Government that has helped us in the past but also many campaign committees. At times, this wonderful help from nongovernmental organizations has been even more important. We are very happy that the German Government has promised to participate in the rehabilitation and reconstruction of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Assurance of this has been given to us from the highest level—from Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl and Foreign Minister Klaus Kinkel. We are very happy to have been promised such generous aid for the time after the war. Let me tell you that Germany may not be the most

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influential country in political terms, but economically it is extraordinarily powerful and we are counting on it.

Croats Anticipate Border Change in Bihac Region

AU1809200695 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 18 Sep 95

[Report by Nada al Issa from Zagreb]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Split SLOBODNA DALMACIJA writes today: A new territorial reshaping of Bosnia is under way. In this pursuit, admits this paper that is very close to the Croatian Democratic Community, the Republic of Croatia is also taking part. With an angelic expression on its face, Croatia suggests the possibility of exchanging Prevlaka for east Herzegovina almost publicly, not losing any time. This was recently announced by President Tudjman himself.

The public debate about the trade of the Croatian for the Bosnia-Herzegovina territory is also confirmed by Croatia's very loose attitude towards the integrity of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Professor Dr. Zdravko Tomac, the most [word indistinct] politician from the Croatian opposition, says that this means the public bartering for Bosnian territory. However, Dr. Tomac also points out that if the Bosnian territory is bartered for now, the Croatian territory will also be traded soon.

It is officially suggested in Zagreb at present that the borders of Croatia and Bosnia are yet to be defined, especially around Bihac. Hrvoje Kacic, chairman of the Croatian state commission for borders, in an interview to SLOBODNA DALMACIJA even claims that the area around Bihac—that is, Zeljava Airport—is the most controversial. It is not clear what is controversial here, apart from Kacic's claim that the majority of the airport lies on the Croatia side, as the situation is quite the opposite—namely, the majority lies on the Bosnian side. The borders have been known since the times of AVNOJ [Anti-Fascist Council of National Liberation of Yugoslavia] and the 5th Corps, at least from the Bosnian side, has fortified them further. For that reason, we can only speak about demarcation and not the drawing of borders. All those who are still reshaping Bosnia forget that the Bosnian Army will no longer tolerate this. Let us not forget, the commander of the Bosnia-Herzegovina General Staff, Army General Rasim Delic, in a statement to Radio and Television Bosnia-Herzegovina two days ago also confirmed this with the following words: There were maps of Bosnia's division before; however, maps are drawn on the ground and the pencil is now in the hand of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army.

Karadzic Demands Recapture of Occupied Territory

LD1809201295 Pale Srpska Televizija in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 18 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Current territorial conquests by the Croatian Army and the forces of the [Bosnia-Herzegovina] Federation will not be recognized in the final resolution of the crisis in former Bosnia-Herzegovina, a statement issued today by the office of the president of the Serb Republic, Dr. Radovan Karadzic, says.

The statement says that the enemy advance must be stopped militarily and the occupied territories recaptured. An order to this effect has been issued and the Serb Republic Army has already consolidated its defenses on Mt Ozren, Mt Vlasic, the River Vrbas canyon, the river Sana valley, Mt Grmec, and the River Una valley.

Serb towns have been shelled from the territory of the Republic of Croatia and the Serb Republic has the legitimate right to defense including the right to retaliate against similar targets. Unless the shelling stops, the Army will retaliate in line with the international laws on warfare.

The statement also says that the Serb Republic will not recognize the situation resulting from NATO bombing and that there is a similar mood within the international community. Territories that were Serb for centuries will again be part of the Serb Republic by political but primarily military means, the office of the president of the Serb Republic, Dr. Radovan Karadzic, says in the conclusion to its statement issued in Banja Luka.

Karadzic Orders Refugee Evacuation of Lost Areas

AU1909091695 Banja Luka Srpski Radio Network in Serbo-Croatian 0500 GMT 18 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Regarding the current situation in the Serb Republic [Serb-held territories in Bosnia-Herzegovina], we are repeating an order, whose execution began yesterday, issued by Serb Republic President Radovan Karadzic regulating the deployment of refugees from the temporarily occupied parts of Krajina.

The population of the municipalities of Sipovo and Jajce is being directed to go to the [Bosanski] Brod municipality. The population of the Petrovac municipality is directed to Derventa. The population of the Srbobran [Donji Vakuf] municipality is directed to the municipalities of Laktasi and [Bosanski] Gradiska. The population of the Kupres municipality is directed to Ivanjska and

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Simici. The population of the Drvar municipality is directed to the municipalities of Prnjavor, Modrica, and Samac. The population of the Mrkonjic Grad municipality is directed to the municipalities of Banja Luka, Celinac, Kotor Varos, and Srbac. The population of the Kljuc municipality is directed to Prijedor and Kozarska [Bosanska] Dubica.

The interior ministry is to ensure the unobstructed flow of traffic along these routes and the wartime authorities whose population is being evacuated are obliged to organize convoys as planned. Gasoline can be purchased at the gas station near the International Hotel.

Krajisnik: Over 30 Planes Bombed Sanski Most

LD1809200495 Pale Srpska Televizija in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 18 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Not everything is going well for the Muslims and Croats. This is borne out by the use of air strikes again today against Serb positions.

Momcilo Krajisnik, the president of the Serb Republic [RS] People's Assembly has said that over 30 aircraft bombarded the area of Sanski Most and the Serb positions in the region today. According to the Speaker of the RS parliament, the main staff of the RS Army will call on General Rupert Smith to investigate if the latest attack was carried out by Croatia or NATO. Despite these latest air raids the Serb counteroffensive will not be stopped. Every inch of the Serb land must be recovered.

Bosnian Serbs To Insist on Division of Sarajevo

LD1809115395 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0935 GMT 18 Sep 95

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Ivan Ivanov]

[FBIS Translated Text] Pale (Serb Republic), 18 Sep—The leadership of the Serb Republic will insist on the division of Sarajevo into two cities-one Serb and one Muslim-during the coming talks on a settlement in the Bosnian crisis, Momcilo Krajisnik, chairman of the Bosnian Serb parliament, has told ITAR-TASS. Krajisnik said that reports saying that, as a result of the talks, the Serbs could exchange their part of Sarajevo for the territory of the Muslim enclave of Gorazde in East Bosnia have absolutely no basis in fact.

Krajisnik recalled that over half of Sarajevo's population from years gone by up to the end of the 1970's was made up of Serbs who comprised the majority of its population. Only later did Muslims start arriving in the city to become dominant in the Bosnian capital's population pattern after 1981. Before the beginning of the Bosnian war, Sarajevo was Bosnia-Herzegovina's economic, political, and cultural center, having accumulated one-third of the country's national assets. He said that it would be unfair for Sarajevo no longer to belong to the Serbs.

"If we agree to transfer Sarajevo under full Muslim rule, 120,000 Serbian people will have to be moved out of the city since the hatred which has appeared in the three years of war will not make it possible for them to live peacefully in the future," the chairman of the Bosnian Serb parliament believes. "Therefore, we want to divide Sarajevo into two parts—Bosnian and Muslim. There is no other decision," he stressed.

Krajisnik said that the Serb leadership is prepared to give to Muslims the central and northern parts of Sarajevo which are occupied by them, while its southern parts and the nearby Serbian settlements should be kept for the Serbs.

Army Colonel: U.S. 'Has Decided To Destroy Us'

BR1509115195 Madrid EL PAIS in Spanish 15 Sep 95 p 5

[Report on interview with Colonel Milovan Milutinovic, Bosnian Serb Army spokesperson by special reporter Francesc Relea in Han Pijesak; date not given: "Serbs Claim Croats and Muslims 'Leading' NATO Attacks"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Han Pijesak—Colonel Milovan Milutinovic, the Bosnian Serb Army spokesman and one of the leading figures in General Ratko Mladic's entourage told EL PAIS categorically: "The Muslims and Croats choose and indicate to NATO's high command the places they should bomb. General Resim Delic (commander in chief of the Bosnian Muslim Army) is in permanent contact with the Pentagon. In his headquarters in Sarajevo there are two retired U.S. generals plus a number of U.S. high-ranking officers. The NATO air raids have nothing to do with the siege of Sarajevo. The United States has decided to destroy us."

The colonel was speaking during an interview in the Bosnian Serb headquarters in Han Pijesak, just hours before the United Nations announced the exodus of 40,000 Serbian refugees from central and Western Bosnia. He said: "The first result of NATO's action is the joint offensive by Muslims and Croats in Bihac, Drvar, Doboj, Glamoc, and Grahovo."

Milutinovic said he is convinced that "what is happening has nothing to do with the Sarajevo marketplace killings" and that everything is related to a premeditated and meticulously organized plan. The Serb Army spokesman said that he had proof to back up his accusations: "Russian Colonel Andrey Demurenko is under house arrest in Sarajevo." Demurenko, one of the heads

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of UNPROFOR in Sarajevo, sent his own conclusions with regard to the marketplace killings back to New York, ruling out any Serb responsibility. More proof: "The U.S. special envoy Robert Frasure died due to a mistake by Western secret services. The plan was that only his two companions would be killed."

The three members of the U.S. delegation died on 19 August on Mount Igman when, according to the official version, their vehicle plunged over a cliff and hit a minefield. They were on their way to Sarajevo to present the U.S. peace initiative to Bosnian President Alija Izetbegovic.

Milutinovic believes that the Sarajevo marketplace slaughter was the work of Muslim extremists and that "the United Nations just needed an excuse to start the bombing. General Mladic asked for a committee to investigate the crime because he knew who ordered it: the United States."

The Bosnian Serb Army spokesman said that the Bosnian Serb Army cannot pull its artillery out of a 20 kilometer radius around Sarajevo, as NATO is demanding, because then "the Muslims would reach the Drina in a week. We do not want to see this river and the Sava full of Serb corpses. There are 50,000 Muslim soldiers in the Sarajevo region with heavy weapons. They are just waiting for their moment."

He aimed his criticism at the Atlantic Alliance: "NATO is master of the situation. UNPROFOR is a farce. At the last meeting between Generals Mladic and Bernard Janvier (head of UN forces in the former Yugoslavia—EL PAIS editor's note) which I also attended, Janvier said: 'I understand what you are saying, but I am just a soldier carrying out my orders.'" Milutinovic added: "Whatever we do, we are always the guilty party."

In the current difficult military climate, he said, Radovan Karadzic is supporting General Mladic but the same cannot be said for Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic: "Belgrade does not understand the risk of a Muslim offensive." What would happen if Milosevic officially asks them to pull their heavy artillery out of the Sarajevo region? The colonel replied: "The first thing that I would say is that the Yugoslav Army would then have to intervene to guarantee our safety."

The spokesman said that the destruction which the NATO air raids have caused to the Bosnian Serb military infrastructure "is minimal, because our best weapons are hidden away. We have lost little except where our communications are concerned. Very often they have attacked positions from which we had already withdrawn. If NATO continues to destroy our economy then we will have to use the missiles that we have not yet deployed. We can attack the UN High Command and the Rapid Reaction Force."

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Tudjman Orders Army To End Offensive in Bosnia

AU1909100795 Paris AFP in English 0957 GMT 19 Sep 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Zagreb, Sept 19 (AFP)—Croatia has ordered its army to end its offensive in Serb-held areas of Bosnia and will not try to attack the Serb stronghold of Banja Luka, Croatian Foreign Minister Mate Granic said Tuesday [19 September].

He told the press that President Franjo Tudjman had informed British Foreign Secretary Malcom Rifkind of this decision.

UK's Rifkind Comments

LD1909102395 London PRESS ASSOCIATION in English 1008 GMT 19 Sep 95

[By Charles Miller, Diplomatic Correspondent, PA News, in Zagreb]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Hopes of peace in the former Yugoslavia soared today after Britain won a pledge from Croatia to halt military offensives in western Bosnia.

Foreign Secretary Malcolm Rifkind emerged delighted from talks with Croatian President Franjo Tudjman in Zagreb and said that the commitment gave a vital impetus to the peace process.

His hopes were reinforced when Croatian Foreign Minister Mate Granic said his government believed it was now time to end the fighting and reach a final and just peace.

He added: "Croatian troops have stopped and we are ready to solve the problem through peaceful means."

Croat forces, together with Bosnian Croats and Muslims, have swept aside Serb resistance in western Bosnia in a series of offensives that threatened to derail the peace process and create a massive humanitarian disaster.

The Croat and Muslim forces were reported to be less than 30 miles from the strategically vital Serb stronghold town of Banja Luka.

Mr Rifkind warned President Tudjman there was a very real danger that Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic might find it impossible not to intervene and help the Serb population if attacks towards Banja Luka continued.

"There must always be a risk that Yugoslavia-Serbia and Montenegro-may feel the need to be drawn in," he said.

"I don't think they wish to do that. President Milosevic gave a very clear impression that he would see that as a disaster for the peace process and other objectives.

"But we are also aware that within Belgrade there are great pressures of a different kind and there must be a degree of uncertainty as to what the consequences might be."

Mr Rifkind said he was was "very pleased" President Tudjman had decided to call a halt to the fighting.

Mr Rifkind stressed: "What we have been hoping for over the past 24 hours was the realisation that it was necessary not to lose this crucial prospect for an overall political settlement.

"That did require restraint. I welcome the fact that the Croatian government has decided not take further offensive action."

The Bosnian government told Mr Rifkind in talks in Sarajevo yesterday that it wanted to reach a political settlement with the Serbs over the fate of Banja Luka.

It was clear that the Foreign Secretary believed there was a genuine new hope for a lasting political peace settlement across the former Yugoslavia.

"If we can see the completion of the military action that will give considerable impetus to the diplomatic initiative," he said.

"It is vital that we prevent a massive humanitarian disaster with a quarter of million refugees, which would have been terrible," he added.

The fighting in western Bosnia has totally transformed the political picture with the Serbs and the Muslim—Croat federation each holding roughly 50% of the territory in line with the United States peace proposal.

Mr Granic explained: "The offensive definitely established a new balance of power and I believe that balance, especially on the ground, will help to find a final peace."

In a further boost to the peace process, Mr Granic announced plans for a peace package with Serbia in a bid to resolve the crucial question of Eastern Slavonia, the region won by the Serbs from Croatia in 1991.

Britain and its United Nations partners firmly believe the region should be returned to the Croats by peaceful means.

Mr Rifkind dangled the carrot of much stronger bilateral political, economic and trade links with Britain in return for a firm commitment to the search for peace in the region.

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Mr Rifkind's talks in Croatia came at the end of a three-day whistle-stop tour of the region's capitals-Belgrade, Sarajevo and Zagreb.

He said he was encouraged by the new commitments by the three governments to peace. But he warned: "A lot of hard work remains to be done."

The momentum will be maintained when Bosnian President Alija Izetbegovic arrives in London tomorrow for talks with John Major and Mr Rifkind.

Misetic: Banja Luka Should Be Taken From Serbs

LD1809114395 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 2120 GMT 17 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Announcer] To discuss the future of Sarajevo as well as possible NATO, UN, and Bosnian government moves over the next 72 hours we are now joined by Bosiljko Misetic, Croatian deputy prime minister and adviser to the president of the Republic for relations with the [Muslim-Croat] federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

[Misetic] Well, Generals Janvier and Smith probably had a reason to extend the deadline for the withdrawal of Serb forces, i.e., the withdrawal of certain types of artillery and heavy weapons. I believe the withdrawal will be completed in 72 hours. The U.S., i.e., Holbrooke's peace initiative has been accompanied by serious military threats and attacks on Serb strongholds and targets. This time the Americans are resolute in their effort not to resolve but to create conditions for the resolution of the Bosnia-Herzegovina crisis. In my own opinion this will not be resolved quickly.

I believe that the primary objective now is to lift the blockade of Sarajevo because Bosnia and the Muslims simply cannot function without it. The other objective which is very important is the issue of Banja Luka. Even though I am not a military strategist I believe that the issue of Banja Luka is of primary importance as far as Croatia is concerned. This issue should be resolved by inflicting a military defeat on Serb criminals in Banja Luka. [passage omitted]

[Misetic] As far as the interests of the Croatian state in Bosnia are concerned, the absolute interest of the Croatian state at this moment is to ensure that Croatia borders the territory of the [Muslim-Croat] federation. As far as its long-term strategic interests are concerned, any sensible state would secure a 100 to 150 km [wide] area along its border not by placing the area under its control but by providing for relations within the area which guarantee political and military stability. In this respect, I believe that it is absolutely in the interest of Croatia that the Banja Luka area becomes part of the [Croat-Muslim] federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Whether it is going to happen or not depends on many factors. I am of the opinion that this is not the issue of Banja Luka alone, this is the issue of the entire Bosanska Posavina [Serb-held northern Bosnia]. The HVO [Croatian Defense Council] already controls the southwestern part [of Bosnia] so only the issue of Trebinje [southeastern Bosnia] remains unresolved. [passage omitted]

[Misetic continues] However, I do not believe that the [51-49 percent] ratio will change at this moment because the U.S. [peace] initiative has its reasons and its pace. Somebody has already said and it is clear that many of the decisions on the crisis in Bosnia-Herzegovina, although not the crucial ones, will be made abroad. [passage omitted]

[Announcer] Croatian and Bosniak forces are advancing rapidly in western Bosnia. How close is their cooperation and how significant is it?

[Misetic] They are just implementing the Split agreement [under which the Muslim leadership invited Croatia to intervene in Bosnia]. As you can see they are cooperating closely and successfully. It seems that even though it has been a thorn in our side, the [Serb] corridor [through northern Bosnia, linking Banja Luka and Serbia proper] has a positive side to it. It will enable most of the Serb criminals to leave the area. A part of the civilian population will leave together with the criminals. I am sorry if they are leaving even though they do not deserve to go. Unfortunately a considerable part of the Serb civilian population has been linked with the criminals and it is clear that they are leaving, i.e., fleeing the Croatian army and the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army because of their bad conscience. We could see how they are fleeing in the [video] reports.

However, it is important to say that Bosnia-Herzegovina will have to be redefined constitutionally and legally because it is not the state it was in 1991. Current political realities and initiatives will have to be taken into account when Bosnia is redefined. [passage omitted]

Sarinic Discusses Compromise on Eastern Slavonia

BR1809141195 Paris LE MONDE in French 16 Sep 95 p 2

[Article by Florence Hartmann: "Croatia Offers a Compromise on Eastern Slavonia"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] While Western diplomats are really pulling out all the stops to push ahead with the peace process in Bosnia, the negotiations aimed at reaching a settlement in Croatia are setting the pace. During a visit to Paris on Thursday, 14 September,

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Hrvoje Sarinic, emissary of Croatian President Franjo Tudjman and the man heading the Croatian delegation negotiating with the Serbs, recognized that differences of opinion between Zagreb and Belgrade had been responsible for the failure to reach a compromise on eastern Slavonia.

Where Zagreb was concerned, the reintegration of the last Croatian territory still in the hands of the breakaway Serbs, following the victory of the Croatian Army in Krajina in August, is a priority. The Croatian authorities are demanding that the dossier on eastern Slavonia, which Mr. Sarinic described as "prickly," be settled at the same time as the Bosnian dossier, and that it be included in the peace process currently under way. Meanwhile, Belgrade is searching to separate the two issues so as to prolong the status quo.

Croatia has set itself a deadline for reaching an agreement that will enable it to regain control over the region in question, which is located in the far eastern part of the country and backs onto Serbia. "A solution must be found between now and the expiry of the UN mandate in Croatia, otherwise we will have to resort to other methods," former Croatian Prime Minister Hrvoje Sarinic warned. [passage omitted]

In return for the recognition of its territorial integrity by Belgrade, Croatia has agreed to "reconstitute the ethnic composition that prevailed in the region before the war," Mr. Sarinic explained. Put more clearly, if Belgrade peacefully hands over eastern Slavonia, the Serb populations will not be systematically chased out. "In 1991 the population in eastern Slavonia comprised 43 percent Croats, 26 percent Serbs, and 15 percent Hungarians. Today it is 100 percent Serb," Mr. Sarinic reiterated.

Croatia proposes going ahead with a "rebalancing" process during the transition period: "The troops from Serbia will have to leave immediately, the local militia will have to be disarmed, and the Bosnian Serbs established in the region will have to clear out." In return the Serbs in eastern Slavonia "will be able to stay in their homes," while the Serbs from other areas of Croatia who have taken refuge in eastern Slavonia "will be given the option of either staying put or returning home." Mr. Sarinic then issued this warning: "We will not return to a process involving endless negotiations."

Granic on Speedy Solution for Eastern Slavonia

LD1809165195 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1500 GMT 18 Sep 95

[Passages contained within quotation marks are recorded]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The Croatian Assembly's Chamber of Deputies, which began its 28th session, is to resume its work by endorsing a 22-point agenda. Sanja Rabuzin-Pavic has a report:

[Rabuzin-Pavic] A package of five electoral laws is just part of 12 laws that are to be dealt with as a matter of urgency. This package sparked a wide-ranging discussion that will be resumed after a break. Opposition parties have put forward a proposal that electoral laws should be dealt with as a routine matter. On behalf of the Club of Deputies of the Croatian Democratic Union, Vladimir Seks upheld the proposal that the package of electoral laws should be discussed as a matter of urgency:

[Seks] "In the wake of Operation Storm and western Slavonia, the political and demographic structure has completely changed. This calls for new elections on the basis of a new demographic and political situation."

[Rabuzin-Pavic] The session began with Question Time, when deputies put around 20 questions to Prime Minister Nikica Valentic and government ministers. We singled out the following replies:

Foreign Affairs Minister Mate Granic said that with regard to the resolution of eastern Slavonia, Croatia will wait no longer than the expiry of the UNCRO [UN Confidence Restoration Operation] mandate:

[Granic] "Following Operation Storm and the latest developments in Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia is most certainly in a position to set a new tone for talks. This means that we wish speedy reintegration—the problem of reintegration of eastern Slavonia, western Srem, and Baranja should be a problem of global resolution."

[Rabuzin-Pavic] Speaking about the position of Bosnian Posavina according to the U.S. peace initiative, Minister Granic said that the initiative consisted of several elements and that Holbrooke's map had not been seen:

[Granic] "There is only one concrete fact—the issue that was agreed in Geneva—that this will be done on the basis of the Contact Group plan on the 51-49 ratio."

[Rabuzin-Pavic] The Croatian Office in Belgrade is working; it is registering requests to return from the Serbs who left Croatia of their own accord in the course of Operation Storm, Prime Minister Nikica Valentic said in reply to a deputy's question:

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[Valentic] "Croatia will observe its laws, its Constitution, and its international obligations. At the same time, one should be realistic: Many of those who have left are now putting pressure from a completely different position. Therefore, at present we can only promise observance of our constitutional and legal obligations and those obligations stemming from international treaties."

[Rabuzin-Pavic] Operations Flash and Storm have created conditions for the return of 120,000 Croatian refugees, of which 30,000 have already returned to their homes, Reconstruction Minister Jure Radic said. [passage omitted]

UN Commander on Eastern Slavonia Serb Situation

BR1809145395 Brussels BRTN-TV2 Television Network in Dutch 1930 GMT 15 Sep 95

[Video report by BRTN reporter Carl Voet in Vukovar; from the Ter Zake program]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Anchorman] The peace process in the former Yugoslavia is taking a positive turn. The Sarajevo siege is expected to stop. U.S. mediator Holbrooke is continuing his search for a political agreement. However, a few dangerous stumbling blocks remain, for example, the issue of eastern Slavonia and Baranja. These are the last Serb-controlled areas on Croatian territory. These areas should be reintegrated into Croatia, but the Serbs do not want to hear about this. Russian and Belgian blue helmets are there to try and keep the warring parties separated. Carl Voet reports from the area.

[Begin recording] [Voet] [Passage omitted]

[Slobodan Popovic, identified by screen caption as Vukovar city councillor, speaking in Serbo-Croatian with Dutch subtitles] There is a fascist Croatia in the heart of Europe. The Croats have managed to do what they could not do in World War II: to chase the Serbs from their territory. During World War II they did not succeed in doing this not even by killing a million Serbs. And today they do, with the help of Germany, the Vatican, and their sponsors.

[Voet] [Passage omitted] Osijek and Vinkovci: nearby cities in Croatia, but in another country. And if it was up to the Vukovar authorities, the situation would remain like this. If needed with the help of motherland Yugoslavia.

[Popovic] We ourselves are strong enough, but if it is necessary, we can expect help from our native country from just across the Danube.

[Voet] The United Nations talks differently. The Belgian General Van De Weghe is the UN commander in the sector. He says that the Serbs realize they are facing last chance negotiations .

[Van De Weghe] The Croats have always said that if political negotiations are unsuccessful, they will use other means to conquer the area. So they are obviously referring to military means.

[Voet] Do the Serbs realize that they are in a weak position?

[Van De Weghe] I think they realize it is their last chance. They are still banking on Serbian support, this is clear, but whether they will receive effective support in case of a conflict, this is another question. But they certainly realize that this is their last chance for a political and peaceful settlement.

[Voet] The United Nations here check whether the Krajina Serbs receive support from the Serbian Army.

[Van De Weghe] We have seen no concrete signs of the presence of organized units within the sector, except maybe for a part of the militia, i.e., the police. At one particular time 700 men, militia or policemen, entered Baranja. For the rest, it is certain that the other [Serb] side gave them some equipment, that there are advisers, and also volunteers and some paramilitary units as well as troops from the former sectors. However, I repeat that so far we have seen no signs of organized Serb units operating in the area. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Two Danes Killed by Karadzic's Serbs in Dvor

AU1909095095 Paris AFP in English 0901 GMT 19 Sep 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Zagreb, Sept 19 (AFP)—A second Danish peacekeeper was killed from crossfire in southeast Croatia where Zagreb's army is stepping up pressure in a joint offensive on Serb-held land in Bosnia, UN officials said Tuesday.

The United Nations had announced the death of a first Danish UN troop in the shelling Monday and the UN Security Council "deplored" the incident and condemned the firing that caused it.

The second Dane died in hospital, the source said. Another Dane was seriously hurt and seven more suffered lighter injuries and all are hospitalized in Zagreb, said a UN spokesman who asked not to be named.

The Danes' UN observation post near the Croatian town of Dvor na Uni, 70 kilometers (43 miles) from Zagreb, suffered a direct hit from Bosnian Serb artillery, the UN source said. He said however Croatian gunners stationed near the UN posts had fired first Monday.

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Dvor, a border town, is right near the Serb-held Bosnian town of Bosanski Novi—which the sources said the Croatian army appeared to be advancing on.

Bosnian Serb forces have said Croatian shelling of this and nearby towns in northwest Bosnia had left seven dead and 22 injured.

The fighting was part of a joint offensive on Serb-held land in western and northern Bosnia launched by Bosnian Croat forces backed up by the Croatian Army and the regular Bosnian Army.

Ambassador: Geneva Allows Compromise in Bosnia

AU1809113195 Split SLOBODNA DALMACIJA in Serbo Croatian 12 Sep 95 pp 6-7

[Interview with Hidajet Biscevic, Croatian ambassador to Turkey and assistant to the minister of foreign affairs by Zlatko Gall; place and date not given: "American Soup Is Being Cooked in Bosnian Pot"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Gall] After the first reactions, how would you comment on the tripartite ministerial meeting in Geneva? In the statements given immediately after the closing of the meeting, we heard different appraisals of its success. The Serbian representative Milan Milutinovic assessed that the meeting was "an encouraging big step," Muhamed Sacirbegovic was more restrained, while the Croatian side was dissatisfied with the fact that the question of its still occupied areas remains open.

[Biscevic] It is possible that there is a certain measure of frustration or dissatisfaction in our public—particularly after it was announced that already during the preparations for the Geneva meeting a short document containing principals had been agreed upon, and that this was to open the perspective of the peaceful solution in eastern Slavonia, Baranja, and western Srijem, in line with the total normalization of relations. And that, of course, can be interpreted in no other way than as the beginning of peaceful reintegration and mutual recognition. However, on the other hand, I believe that our public has already been well introduced to all the traps and tricks of Serbian strategy, so that our public would probably be more surprised at the acceptance of that document so soon.

Serbian Trick

[Gall] It is significant that the present negotiator, "Yugoslav" minister of foreign affairs Milan Milutinovic, has recently in "TV Vukovar" stated that eastern Slavonia, Baranja, and western Srijem must at no cost fall into the hands of the ustasha... It is obvious that Belgrade is still calculating and trying to break the peace package into two separate parts—the present Bosnia-Herzegovina, and Croatia?

[Biscevic] Certainly, but on the other hand, there is no doubt that by rejecting the already accepted text, that is, the text accepted by Milosevic himself, the Serbian side in fact utterly revealed its intentions before the United States, which is directing the present process and which can hardly allow its own discredit. Therefore, in fact, that aspect of Geneva has probably been an even bigger success than if Belgrade accepted the document and then tried to interpret it unilaterally, thus indirectly tying our hands. According to that, if Croatia is going to be asked for restraint in the name of the preservation of the entire peace process, as the Bosniak side is now being asked in Bosnia-Herzegovina, while the Serbs are under air attacks and shells, then the final responsibility for the peace process is in the hands of the international community and the United States. Then, it is already clear to every international observer that Milosevic would most gladly break the peace package, that is, that he would most gladly accept to talk first about Bosnia and get the maximum profit there, by bargaining on the verge of the still existing different interests of the United States, European Union—on the whole and within it—and Russia, so that afterward he might possibly agree to the talks about the occupied Croatian territories.

[Gall] What do you think about the remaining aspects of the Geneva meeting? For it is clear that every party has its own list of priorities, and the international community and the United States their agenda of activities. So far all peace efforts have been cracking precisely along that line.

[Biscevic] It is clear that our priorities are now on our eastern borders, and that the Bosniaks put the preservation of the integrity of Bosnia-Herzegovina first. It is also clear that Serbia's priorities are in Bosnia-Herzegovina, with eastern Slavonia as the last but one reserve card. However, on the other hand, in the eyes of the United States and the international community, the priorities are nevertheless lined up in a different way. The world knows that at the end of this process, if I may speak in utterly simple terms, Izetbegovic and the acting generation of Bosnian leadership should come out with a preserved and reorganized Bosnia, that Milosevic has to give back a lot of it, in order to get something, and that the territories along its eastern borders should be returned to Croatia. That is, without such a formula, there is no lasting peace. Therefore the whole logic of the U.S. initiative started along these lines, and therefore we have to be steadfast in insisting that our priority, which is in reality the second or third in the international view, remains consistently tied to the present peace train.

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Time of Realistic Compromises

[Gall] Do you think—as the media more and more often call it—the "Pax Americana" is possible? Is the role of U.S. diplomacy in the present peace process the weight that could finally tip the scales toward the final solution to the war and crisis?

[Biscevic] One thing is absolutely certain; the U.S. initiative is more serious than any other so far, and it really tries to close the war chapter in the area of former Yugoslavia, and, on the other hand, to create a space to arrange relations between the countries and the nations by political means. This does not mean that the former principle of strength, by which Serbia and the Serbs have been trying to arrange relations in the region with the aim of establishing total hegemony, will be exchanged for the principle of justice and ethics, but at least a door to a realistic compromise will be opened. In that light, I think that the Geneva meeting was a successful first formal step, the establishment of a solid bedrock to a hill that lies before us and that will most certainly be dangerous and difficult.

[Gall] Was the so-called shuttle diplomacy of the U.S. diplomats headed by Richard Holbrooke, who had been tirelessly "running" from Moscow to Berlin, from Paris to Athens, and through these areas of ours, perhaps crucial for this, as you call it, first formal step toward peace?

[Biscevic] Was it exactly crucial, I do not know, but it certainly deserves credit. In my own opinion, the major difficulty of all the peace conferences so far, from The Hague to London, was in the fact that at those conferences the first thing that had to be done was always to set high principles and certain formulas that were later on transferred to the ground to see in what way and to what extent they would be accepted. As the four years of war show, that approach has in fact served as an element in prolonging the crisis and an element that indirectly helped Serbian aggression. Radically speaking, past peace initiatives have been security for the moral justification of the West, while simultaneously they enabled the army to draw maps. In U.S. political and diplomatic practice, which after all has a "management approach," it has often been noticed in big world crises that so-called streetcar diplomacy can prepare the ground much better than any kind of big and pompous conference. Therefore I understand the logic that urged President Clinton to sent Anthony Lake first into the capitals of his European allies or rivals. Thus a consensus of interests of the United States, leading European countries, and Russia has been created. Of course, everybody has got something out of, but also has had to give up something...

[Gall] Do you think that everybody has got a piece of the cake in order to smooth over at least a part of what was until recently an overt clash of interests?

[Biscevic] Yes, because really everyone has got something... The Americans have got the leading role in this phase. The French and the British have got the leading military role on the ground through their Rapid Reaction Forces, while the Germans remain engaged with the prospect of an even bigger role after a peace treaty. Then, Italy and Spain will join the associate membership of the Contact Group, Russia has got something already with the fact it has not been left aside, and that everybody wants it "aboard" in order to remove confrontation. Finally, the Turks remain heavily present around, as well as the Greeks... Somewhat simplified, but that is the description of the current logic: the compromise of realistically assessed interests—from what was until recently an open scramble and confrontation of European powers for the realization of as great as possible influence in these areas, we are now entering a phase in which the range and limits of their interests will take a realistic form. I think that the moment has come for both the Serb and Bosniak-Muslim side, when the point in question is Bosnia-Herzegovina, to realize and accept the same logic.

Division of Bosnia?

[Gall] Regarding the political nature and contents of the document adopted on Bosnia-Herzegovina, is it not in the end—and this has been pointed out in many commentaries abroad—nevertheless some kind of reward for the Serbian conquering policy? After all, the Belgrade media do not neglect to point out the satisfaction over the finally recognized Serb republic while, on the other hand, the famous 49 percent of the territory de facto means partial recognition of the conquest?

[Biscevic] If national and other relations in Bosnia were at least a bit simpler, perhaps we could say that the logic of this peace initiative opens the possibility to every aggressor to use force and grab as much as one can, because in negotiations at the end one could nevertheless get more than actually belongs to one. Remember, finally, the anecdote on Serbian history as "Pasician" [Nikola Pasic, 1845-1926, Serbian politician and statesman, head of the Radical Party] history of a thief who always stole a coat and a shirt from his neighbor, and then negotiated under what conditions he would give him his shirt back. Is Milosevic not behaving the same way today, by testing the world's decisiveness: about eastern Slavonia at the table, and about Bosnia-Herzegovina on the ground! But, the logic of a balanced solution is nevertheless not the logic of

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currying favor with aggression. On the contrary, the history of national and political relations in Bosnia-Herzegovina from the time of the appearance of the first Yugoslavia to World War II will just confirm that, with all the fluctuations and all the vehemence of the Serbian monarchist dictatorship, in the end strains and tensions nevertheless led and almost brought to a solution which also, in the political and national sense, was very similar to the one offered today. Were not banovinas [counties ruled by bans] at that time, with their ethnic structure and implicit and real gravitation to Zagreb or to Belgrade, a form of today's "right to parallel special relations" as described in Geneva? And was it not, despite initial opposition, supported by the French and the British just in order to parry the Germans?

[Gall] Does that mean, in the simplest terms, that the point in question is really the beginning of the end of the war, but also the beginning of the end of Bosnia-Herzegovina? After all, after Geneva many commentators were talking about "wooden iron," that is, about the contradiction that Bosnia-Herzegovina will be one state with two entities that can establish confederal relations with the neighboring states. Of course, those neighboring states are Croatia and "Yugoslavia," that is, Serbia...?

[Biscevic] Regarding the end of the war, I hope we will not need one more round of conflict to achieve territorial boundaries that are realistic and that can now be achieved in a peace process. Regarding the beginning of the end of Bosnia, "jumping to conclusions" has already cost many a head...

[Gall] But, the Bosnian Serbs will certainly want quick establishment of direct relations with "Yugoslavia," that is Serbia, in which, let us be realistic, Serbia will cross the river Drina for the first time in history? After all, is not the media euphoria that occurred in official Belgrade media after Geneva, much more conditioned by that fact, than by the task of propaganda supporting Milosevic's "peacemaking"?

[Biscevic] There is no doubt of the Bosnian Serbs' hurrying, as you say, to establish direct relations with Serbia, but the question is how far the international community will allow it. You must not skip the fact that the point in question is quality, not speed. That is, after all, what we in Croatia, and we in Bosnia, must take care of. It was not by accident that I previously mentioned that behind it all one can sense the logic of putting an end to the war, and then arranging relations by other means. I do not claim that it will not turn out that the rights to "parallel special relations" transform into a direct confederation. After all, the introduction of parallelism as a principle reflects, in fact, the logic of the Washington Treaty. However, since that is "the question of all questions" regarding the future development in Bosnia-Herzegovina, I want to say that it will be crucial to measure out in the next phases of the peace process how the international community intends to arrange relations "on the roof" of a state that consists of two almost entirely independent entities. So, the crucial question is the issue of the constitutional-judicial and political content and jurisdiction of common institutions.

"Cartography" or New War

[Gall] Can the schemes or at least the assumptions of the future constitutional-judicial concept be seen in the distance? Particularly when the point in question is the Bosniak side, which has mostly advocated the integral state.

[Biscevic] There is no doubt that the Bosniaks, who, remember, accepted the logic of dual Bosnia-Herzegovina, will try to make those common institutions as strong as possible, and with as large a legal capacity as possible, so that, along with the promised financial support, it becomes a "carrot" for the Bosnian Serbs to join, and so as to remain in such a new state for a certain period of time, even after a peace treaty, the Bosniaks would keep them in some kind of "penal quarantine." Of course, there is no doubt either that the Bosnian Serbs, who in turn accepted the logic 51:49, will try to make those institutions as "ceremonial" as possible, or not of any kind. The Bosnian Croats in all that, objectively, are in a perfectly favorable position. Not only that they already have the institutions to protect their own interests through the Croatian Republic of Herzeg-Bosnia, but they have also laid the foundation stone—and even have the building of the Croat-Bosniak Federation. And while the international community will be wrestling with the Serbs about how quickly and in what way the "parallelism" will turn into secession, which the situation within the ranks of Bosniak-Muslims will also depend on, the Croats can steadily and patiently build the Federation. And through it, of course, arrange their relations with the Bosniak corps which, in the end, as in the present acceptance of dual Bosnia, will itself decide what the best choice for them is.

[Gall] You must admit that, even if everything were to go according to plan or optimal projection, the point in question is a very complicated process. What is the concept of the next stages?

[Biscevic] On the diplomatic level, first, there should be two meetings of the Contact Group: one at the Russian Mission to the UN in Geneva, and the other one in

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Moscow. Afterward, and to some extent simultaneously, there will be a new round of "shuttle" diplomacy from Ambassador Holbrooke and his persistent team. At that point the most sensitive part will occur—the initial tripartite talks on territorial boundaries in Bosnia-Herzegovina. I want to stress particularly that here, the Bosniak-Muslim side will formally talk about it for the first time. I personally hope that a reasonable approach will prevail in the talks on the territorial aspects of the U.S. initiative, that the possible individual controversial questions will not stall the process of negotiation—because, otherwise, one more cycle of war will start—and that the entire talks about the maps will be conducted in an atmosphere of real need on the part of everyone in Bosnia-Herzegovina to map out a realistic, viable, and compact territory.

[Gall] Ralph Begleiter, one of CNN commentators, has expressed suspicion at the Bosnian Serbs' readiness to give up easily more than 20 percent of the territory that they now control by force. He, of course, is not alone in these estimations based also upon the current situation on the ground. More precisely, despite unwavering NATO air strikes and Rapid Reaction Force shelling, the Bosnian Serbs do not stop their daily shelling of Sarajevo?

[Biscevic] Experience of the readiness of the Serbs so far, of course, causes skepticism, but... we must hope that there has to be a quantity of NATO bombs per Bosnian Serb head that can break even the most stubborn heads and take—with perhaps even some others—them to the negotiating table. The more so because the stubbornness of the Bosnian Serbs to fulfill the UN and NATO demands indirectly suits Milosevic. For today, in one more typical turning-point in this crisis, the Americans in Bosnia are doing his job. He will just say when it is enough. Meanwhile, as we know, he will try to discredit the U.S. initiative in every possible way. By putting spokes in the negotiations' wheel, playing the Russian card, stimulating a new disunion between the Europeans and the Americans, doing everything in anticipation that this initiative will fade and die away, so that the policy of force is accepted again.

"New Ground Plan" of Europe

[Gall] Let us get back to the Geneva meeting. It seems that the crucial question is not only whether it will come to the signing of the final agreement, but also what will be the instruments of its implementation?

[Biscevic] To answer your question, I will try to describe the most optimistic version... So, the one that would in the next two or three months first see a tripartite ministerial conference together with the ministers of the Contact Group, and then, a tripartite meeting at the highest level together with a summit of at least five, and I personally believe more, presidents. Of course, with the presence of the U.S. President. Naturally, by then the boundaries in Bosnia-Herzegovina would be determined, an irrevocably firm agreement about our territories along the eastern borders established, the degree of authority of the central institutions in Bosnia-Herzegovina agreed upon, the character of the arrangement within the Federation and the Serb Republic, and, of course, the model of their relations with Croatia, and "Yugoslavia" precisely quoted. To implement such an optimal agreement, international forces would be necessary, that is doubtless. Partially because of the guarantee regarding the demarcation, partially because of monitoring the withdrawal and transposition of arms, partially as postconflict forces to prevent conflicts of lower intensity...

[Gall] The U.S. initiative, obviously, introduces essential news: unambiguous American presence in these areas. Do you think that it is only the intention of Clinton's administration to rapidly win some crucial points for the next elections by solving the crisis, or is the point in question a more integral turn in the U.S. policy?

[Biscevic] It seems to me that it is clear that the United States is not only trying to solve a regional crisis now, but also—precisely because of the character and logic by which they want to solve it—to create the preconditions to start solving wider European security relations as a whole... to start building an integral European security architecture, which also means arranging relations with Russia, and, to sum up, to introduce some kind of a new structure and new guarantees into the apparent "security vacuum" that exists today in the territory of former Yugoslavia. That is the origin of the urgent insistence on the normalization of relations between Macedonia and Greece, that is the origin of speeding up reconciliation in Greek-Turkish relations. For instance, I would not be surprised if in Cyprus the same logic of a dual state with a loose umbrella system of international representation and certain common authorities were applied. We must understand that all this is part of the wider interest of the United States, as well as the leading European countries, that now—after the collapse of communism, and the disintegration of the Versailles and Yalta orders, they want to install some new ground plans, on the basis of which a new European order would be sought.

[Gall] What is the position and Croatia's role in it?

[Biscevic] It can already be seen how much certain countries are trying to prepare themselves for their role in this area in the period after the peace comes.

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NATO air strikes and the announcement of possible direct involvement on the ground clearly indicates the direction of American thinking that says: Even when peace is achieved, the indubitable geostrategic importance of the region is too great to leave its all too fragile security in the hands of local leaders or Europeans. It is precisely in that respect that I can see Croatia's importance in the U.S. view, and it is no accident that the present peace process is linked with the process of Croatia's approach toward the Partnership for Peace.

Reinforcements Seen Leaving Zagreb for Bosnia

AU1909092095 Paris AFP in English 0800 GMT 19 Sep 95

[FBIS Transcribed Excerpt] Zagreb, Sept 19 (AFP)—[Passage omitted] A UN military source said Monday [19 September] that the Croatian Army had supplied the Bosnian Croats with "hundreds" of their most sophisticated heavy weaponry, and were providing the troops to man them.

There is also indications of heavier Croatian involvement in Bosnia, with reinforcements seen late Monday seen headed from a barracks outside Zagreb toward the Bosnian border.

They had at least eight floating bridges in the convoy, according to an eyewitness. Bridges between Croatia and Bosnia were destroyed in fighting in 1991.

A second UN source estimated that the Croatian Army had 10,000 to 20,000 troops in Bosnia.

Bosnian Envoy on Bosnian-U.S. Talks in Zagreb

LD1809221695 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 2048 GMT 18 Sep 95

[Telephone interview with Kasim Trnka, Bosnian ambassador to Croatia, in Zagreb, by an unidentified correspondent—live]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Correspondent] At this very moment arduous and intensive negotiations are beginning in Zagreb Intercontinental Hotel, which are also being attended by Kasim Trnka, Bosnia-Herzegovina ambassador to Croatia.

[Trnka] Good evening. I am telephoning you from the Hotel Intercontinental where a U.S. delegation has just arrived for talks with a Bosnia-Herzegovina delegation led by Foreign Affairs Minister Muhamed Sacirbegovic.

[Correspondent] Who is taking part in the negotiations on the U.S. side, and what are the main topics of the talks this evening?

[Trnka] The entire team that is following Mr. Holbrooke. [passage omitted]

[Correspondent] Mr. Trnka, are the maps on the table tonight?

[Trnka] The talks have only just begun, therefore, I am not able to say, but my opinion is that this issue is not going to be discussed just as yet, because tonight we are discussing the current military situation, the situation around Sarajevo, and talks in connection with constitutional arrangements for Bosnia-Herzegovina, all in line with the Geneva agreement and fundamental principles for the resolution of the situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

[Correspondent] Mr. Trnka, according to your knowledge, are actions in the area of western and central Bosnia continuing this evening?

[Trnka] Very intensive and coordinated actions are continuing not only in western Bosnia, but also in central and northeastern Bosnia. Units of the 5th, 7th, 3d, and 2d Corps are taking very important liberation actions. The 4th Corps has also begun its actions in the area of Konjic. [passage omitted]

[Correspondent] Have Prijedor and Sanski Most, as some sources said today, been liberated, or is fighting still in progress in those areas?

[Trnka] General Delic told me a short while ago that fighting is still in progress in the suburbs of Prijedor and that our units are advancing with all elements for an organized military attack and liberation of the occupied territory. [passage omitted]

[Correspondent] Has a deadline been set by which an agreement on Banja Luka should be reached, and what will happen if no agreement is reached?

[Trnka] No deadline has been set. If no agreement is reached, then this means that there are no relevant democratic forces with which there can be talks about the democratic reorganization of territories under Serb control.

[Correspondent] Mr. Trnka, you were in Sarajevo today. Has any pressure been put on the Sarajevo government to halt this liberation of areas of central and western Bosnia in the course of today's talks, especially by the U.S. negotiators?

[Trnka] I believe that these operations have shown that a new military balance has been created, and that this is a legitimate liberation operation. So, according to information available to me, I do not have the impression that anyone has been warned not to undertake such operations.

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[Correspondent] My last question: A fresh round of talks between Croatian President Franjo Tudjman, Alija Izetbegovic, Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency president, and Federation President Kresimir Zubak are scheduled for tomorrow. What are the topics of this meeting and has everything been prepared for it?

[Trnka] The meeting has been prepared. It is, as it has been announced, a continuation of intense consultations regarding the peace process not just in Bosnia-Herzegovina, but also issues regarding the remaining occupied territories in Croatia.

There are reasons to analyze the fresh military and political situation in the wake of successful liberation actions undertaken by the Croatian Army, the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army, and the HVO [Croatian Defense Council], and to analyze some elements of the implementation of the Split agreement.

Military commanders had talks today, and I believe that tomorrow's meeting will be very important regarding further coordination of joint diplomatic and all other activities.

[Correspondent] Mr. Trnka, thank you for this exclusive interview.

[Trnka] Thank you.

Outlook for Admission to Council of Europe Viewed

Debate Postponed on Admission

AU1809133895 Split SLOBODNA DALMACIJA in Serbo-Croatian 8 Sep 95 p 5

[Report by Bruno Lopandic: "Blackmail From Strasbourg"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Despite expectations that Croatia would become a full member of the Council of Europe in the autumn, at the assembly session to be held from 25 to 29 September in Strasbourg this decision will not be made. Instead of the report for the International Committee to decide on the Croatia's admission to the Council of Europe, envoy for Croatia van der Linden has prepared a memorandum for discussion, thus postponing admission. How did such a decision come about?

Although the Croatian representatives at the talks with the Council of Europe claim that the memorandum is mainly objective and correct (although there are some criticisms of the situation in Croatia), Zarko Domljan and Bozidar Gagro have already voiced some objections. They will soon express their opinion in writing (which is being asked of Croatia), so that at a meeting of the International Committee of the Council of Europe on 18 September, a discussion can be initiated and a clear picture of the situation in Croatia made. Although the debate on Croatia's admission to the Council of Europe was not put on the agenda on 4 September for procedural reasons—such was the formal explanation—the real reasons for its postponement are of a completely different nature.

In their latest visits to Croatia, Council of Europe representatives admitted to our representatives that there had been significant improvements in human rights, legal regulations, and media freedom. The International Committee of the Council of Europe even reached a consensus on Croatia's admission. But the mass exodus of Serbs from the liberated areas, even though most of them were forcibly chased away by Martic, is something the that European members of parliament cannot understand. Furthermore, after they had left, it was not clear to them why they were not coming back. What can Croatia do to have the Serbs come back?—this was the most frequent question. The main criticism of Croatia this time consisted of the "mistake" in letting the Serbs leave. However, the other side of the coin says something else.

Regardless of the differences in their activities and roles, all the European organizations (and the Council of Europe is the oldest) coordinate their actions and decisions with the political developments in this region and are pursuing the political process that has become particularly intense with the appearance of the U.S. initiative. The signal of this moment was to say no to Croatia. Namely, it is easier to force a country to make certain moves by blackmailing it with full membership. The other European organizations agree on such matters and that is where the decision to freeze further talks on the PHARE [Economic Reconstruction Aid for Poland and Hungary] program between Croatia and the EU comes from. As for the Serbs who have fled Croatia, none of the main European organizations can offer mechanisms for their return and blaming Croatia was reason enough to postpone the process. Bearing in mind the informal links between the Council of Europe, the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, and the EU, it can be expected that the admission of Croatia to any of these organizations will open the doors to the others, like dominoes. As for the Council of Europe, that might happen in January next year. Before that, the representatives of all three committees, the international one, the one for nonmember countries, and the one for political issues, will visit Croatia once more.

It is no secret that, with these problems, Croatia has often harmed itself through the moves of the authorities, which may have been justified for internal needs, but which meant minus points in Europe. Such moves, like those of an bull in a china shop, the European members

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of parliament admitted, are no longer so frequent. They have established that the situation in Croatia has improved significantly and proof of that can be seen in the fact that the process for the Croatia's admission to the Council of Europe, with a certain postponement, continues. For the time being, we can be comforted by the fact that the process of Russia's admission has been completely suspended because of their military action in Chechnya.

Apart from the direct benefits of full membership of the Council of Europe, namely the possibility of Croatia's active participation in its work and decisionmaking, thus representing our country, membership of the Council of Europe reflects upon the internal life of a country in fulfilling the criteria for this organization. For example, the translation of Croatian laws into English, and forwarding them to Strasbourg, automatically means acquainting them with the values of the Croatian legislature. After all, the Council of Europe sets standards of the European continent at all levels, literally from cinematography to important political issues.

[Box, p 5]

The Procedure Goes On

Mladen Andrlic, head of the Department for European Integration at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Croatia, said:

"It is evident that with the latest decisions of 4 September the Committee for Political Issues continues with procedures for Croatia's admission to the Council of Europe. It is important to say that, despite the present circumstances in Croatia and the priority given to the reintegration of its occupied territories, the Council of Europe does not pose particular conditions for Croatia's admission as a full member. On the contrary, it is proceeding with the investigation of the situation in our country, which will, depending on the peace process in the region, lead to Croatia becoming a full member of the Council of Europe."

IDS Statement

AU1809134395 Split SLOBODNA DALMACIJA in Serbo-Croatian 8 Sep 95 p 4

[Statement of the Istrian Democratic Assembly: "Regret About the Council of Europe"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Pula—Regarding the postponement of the Croatia's admission to the Council of Europe, the Istrian Democratic Assembly [IDS]: —expresses its regret because of the postponement of the Croatia's admission to the Council of Europe, which was announced for the end of September this year, but was postponed by the decision of the Political Committee of the Council of Europe on 4 September; —requests the competent institutions of the Republic of Croatia to give their opinions on this act, first of all concerning the basic reasons for postponing the admission, so as to fully inform the Croatian public on this issue; —points out that the Council of Europe has already admitted Balkan Countries like Albania, Bulgaria, and Romania, while the Republic of Slovenia and Macedonia will be admitted soon; —reminds that the district of Istria is the only Croatian district that is a member of the European association of the Parliament of European Regions, which it entered upon the evaluation of European experts that Istria has developed crucial European values, like the protection of human rights and the rights of minorities, antifascism and press freedom; —announces that it will ask for a special debate in the Parliament of the Republic of Croatia about the integration of Croatia in European integration processes; —asks the Croatian central authorities not to reduce possibilities for the admission of Croatia any longer, by suppressing parliamentary and other aspects of expression of regional interests of Croatian regions; —warns of the harmful consequences on the integration of Croatia in Europe, caused by the recent continuation of the repressing of independent media in Istria and Croatia, and the defying of the will of the electorate, by the leading parties influence on the municipal, city, and district representatives, parliament members, mayors and district presidents— says the statement of the IDS, signed by its president Ivan Jakovcic.

Martic Asks FRY for Return of Able-Bodied Men

LD1809113995 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1008 GMT 18 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Banja Luka, 18 Sep (SRNA-BETA)—Milan Martic, leader of the Krajina Serbs, has asked the authorities of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia [FRY] to allow the return of all able-bodied men who want "to defend the territory of the [Bosnian] Serb Republic".

Martic said he is prepared to head the Krajina units and to lead them to the most threatened areas of the Serb Republic, ISKRA reports.

He also said that he has decided to immediately "make available" all soldiers of the Krajina army who are still in the [Bosnian] Serb Republic, sending them "to defend the Serb Republic."

Martic believes that 90 percent of the Krajina army soldiers who fled to Yugoslavia will return to the Serb Republic if FRY authorities allow them.

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Gligorov Rejects 'Quixotic Battle' for Flag

AU1809164395 Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA in Macedonian 17 Sep 95 pp 1-2

[Unattributed report on interview with resident Gligorov "for Macedonian Television" in Skopje on 16 September: "Legally, the Greek Embargo No Longer Exists"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The president of the Republic of Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] gave an interview for Macedonian Television yesterday, in which, among the rest, he spoke about the Macedonian-Greek dispute. In reference to this, President Gligorov said the following:

"On this occasion, it is necessary to say that this dispute is the dispute of the century. It has lasted since the Balkan Wars; it continued after World War I, when the Macedonian question was considered definitely resolved. However, World War II followed, during which our people succeeded in achieving one of its ideals, the creation of the Republic of Macedonia. It was, in fact, within the framework of a federation, of a common state, but it had the status of a state. This was a turning point that some states tried to deny at that time, but without any success, because it was an achieved fact and we were on the true side. We liberated ourselves, we created our own state, the Republic of Macedonia, on a legitimate basis at the session of the ASNOM [Anti-Fascist Council of National Liberation of Macedonia], and the only consolation for those who denied this fact was, in a way, that it represented a part of another state and therefore did not have any international or legal significance.

"After the breakup of Yugoslavia, we organized a referendum that was also rebutted by some, by with which we proclaimed independence in accordance with all peaceful and legitimate means, and when the Badinter Commission concluded that Macedonia fulfilled all the conditions for recognition, it became clear that this state was definitely born and all kinds of resistance were to be expected. Not only in this case, but whenever two countries have a dispute, a rational compromise must be found. A line on which the interests of both sides will coincide has to be found and the dispute has to be removed from the agenda.

"One day, of course, all the documents will be published and it will become clear, from a historic distance, that there was no secret diplomacy in this case.

"On the other hand, the embargo has been legally abolished with the accord and with Cyrus Vance's statement, in which he said that he was authorized by the Greek side and by our side to state that, with the signing of the document, the embargo was lifted.

"I must say that we had absolutely no understanding regarding the flag. It was not because of whose symbol it is. Well, they decided that it belonged to the Greeks. The reason was different. Are we now going to wage a battle after 2,300 years? Are we going to transform this question into a Cypriot issue that cannot be solved even after 10 years? If we wage a battle for the symbol, we can find ourselves in the following situation: Our young people who are now 20 years old will be 40 years old before they can start a normal life, before they have access to the world, and before we start the process of joining the European Union. Do we have to pay this price for insisting on the symbol? The symbol is beautiful, the flag is also beautiful, but when all the matters are seen from both sides, I think that, in the absence of understanding from anybody in the world, we would have waged a quixotic battle for something that has often been a subject of Balkan wars in history," Kiro Gligorov said, among other things, in his expanded interview for Macedonian Television, which also encompassed other important aspects of the present situation and the position of the Republic of Macedonia.

Albanian Parties on Relations With Greece, U.S.

AU1809162195 Tirana RILINDJA in Albanian 17 Sep 95 p 5

[Article by I. Arslani: "The Albanian Problem in Macedonia Remains"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Regarding the signing of the agreement between Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] and Greece, as well as the establishing of relations with the United States at embassy level, we asked for an exclusive interview for RILINDJA and BUJKU with the Albanian political party chairmen in Macedonia about the way these relations are reflected in the solution of the Albanian question in Macedonia.

Party for Democratic Prosperity [PDP] Chairman Abdurahman Haliti said that, as a political party, we greet the signing of the agreement for the normalization of relations between Macedonia and Greece. The lifting of the embargo and the basis for the establishment of good neighbourly relations between the two countries is in the interest of the Republic of Macedonia and all its citizens, because new perspectives are opened for the stabilization of the situation in this part of the Balkans and beyond. The raising of the level of diplomatic relations between the United States and the Republic of Macedonia is of great importance for this republic and is supports peace in the region.

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Arben Xhaferi, Party for Democratic Prosperity of Albanians [PDPA] chairman, pointed out that peace in the Balkans benefits the Albanians because they have better perspectives. The signing of the Greek-Macedonian accord should be considered in this context, and as President Berisha and President Rugova both supported it, the other Albanian political parties should also do so. As for the more concrete U.S. presence in this area, as a political party, we support the raising of the level of the relations between the two countries and would like to add that our chances of bringing the Albanian question here in Macedonia to the fore are also increasing.

The opening of the U.S. Embassy in Macedonia and the Macedonian Embassy in Washington is the U.S. carrot offered to the Macedonians because they gave in to Greece. We must evaluate it as a desire on the part of Macedonia, but as a political subject, we must make use of the U.S. presence to raise the Albanian question more intensively.

We would like to stress in the end that, with the improvement of Greek-Macedonian relations, Macedonia is facing but one problem, and this is the Albanian quesstion.

People's Democratic Party [NDP] President Iljaz Halili thinks that the signing of the agreement between Macedonia and Greece for the improvement of the relations between these two countries is a positive act and an important step for stability in the country and beyond. The signing of this document is not to the detriment of the interests of the Albanians in Macedonia; of course the interests of its citizens are considered first.

With the improvement of relations between Macedonia and Greece, better conditions are created for the solution of the Albanian question in Macedonia and the advancement of their status towards the realization of full rights. Macedonia has many problems of various natures, therefore, in such a situation, it is difficult for a solution to the Albanian question to found even with the support of international factors.

With the improvement of these relations, the establishment of diplomatic relations with the United States, and eventual admission into the EU, Macedonia will have to take on obligations according to the documents of these international organisms that deal with national entities.

Negotiations, Accord With Greece Reviewed

AU1909073295 Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA in Macedonian 16 Sep 95 p 13

[Article by Nevenka Mitrevska: "Good News Needs Digestion, Too"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Republic of Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] and the Republic of Greece signed an accord on the normalization of relations in New York on 13 September, but the expected feeling of relief is missing. Is the reason for this that the document, which was fashioned with great difficulties lasting two years, was unjustifiedly expected to represent a triumph of justice? Is the reason for this that the "first" side in the accord is Greece—a country that is famous for paying no respect for international agreements? Or, is the reason for this because bad news is more trusted than good news in the Balkans?

The news of the signing of the Macedonian-Greek accord, in spite of all the defects, is good news in the real sense. Even if it is not thoroughly implemented, the signing itself puts an end to the most primitive situation that has governed a European (Macedonian-Greek) border so far: A situation in which there was no mutual recognition or mutual understanding, and where human and trade links between two neighborly countries were interrupted.

Three Days That Shook the Journalists

The fact that our Macedonian side does not yet have the feeling that something radical has changed for the better in relations with Greece is nothing unusual. The Greeks demonstrated a very similar mood in the new situation in New York. As usual, more numerous and better informed, and, therefore, a little arrogant and self-confident, the Greek mass media were looking really lost. A whole lot of journalists and reporters were either entering en masse into the lobby of the hotel where Macedonian Foreign Minister Stevo Crvenkovski was staying or were visiting the hotel at which Greek diplomat Karolos Papoulias was staying. In the three days of coming and going, there were some comical situations—for instance, when, on the second evening, the Greeks ran to inform us in an allegedly friendly way that Matthew Nimetz, who was already in Crvenkovski's suit, could be soon joined by Holbrooke. The Macedonian journalists knew that already, but the Greek journalists missed the information that Holbrooke had been in the suite of their Minister Papoulias for the previous four hours. Someone in the Greek delegation intentionally "sent them back" to Crvenkovski's hotel—

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in order to protect Holbrooke and Papoulias from their journalistic attacks.

Holbrooke eventually came to the hotel, marched to Crvenkovski's suite disregarding the journalists, and, after some time, in an evidently bad mood, marched out, accompanied by Nimetz. He did not stop to listen to the questions of the journalists. A line of cars was formed in the street in front of the hotel. The Greek journalists disappeared. In the meantime, spotted only by one or two Macedonian journalists, Holbrooke and Nimetz, standing on the corner of the empty street and, gesticulating and talking in excited but low voices, held a short private discussion. Later that evening, asked "why Holbrooke was angry," Minister Crvenkovski replied: "He was angry when he came" and, as usual, he said no more. This happened on the evening of 12 September, when the journalists had the impression that all ships relating to the Macedonian-Greek accord were about to be sunk. Nobody slept that night. The Macedonian and Greek negotiators and the mediators continued with either their mutual contacts and considerations until late that night. The journalists kept awake in order to not miss anything.

Rescue Action

So, 13 September dawned. Rainy, cloudy, and unpromising, marked as the day for overcoming the last differences and for signing the accord. The meeting place was the palace of the United Nations, the time was 1030. On the opposite side of the street, in the grim rainy morning, a small group of people stretched two red Macedonian flags bearing the yellow star and the slogan "Macedonia belongs to the Macedonians." The protest was peaceful and the passersby paid no attention to it. Ministers Crvenkovski and Papoulias were in their hotels, waiting for an unofficial call. In the meantime, the mediators were deeply engaged with the members of the two delegations in an action to save Greece's face. How to save it from disgrace and to lift the embargo (at least literally) before the signing of the embargo? The Solomon's solution was found nearly six hours later in the statement of UN mediator Cyrus Vance, in which he said that Greece was lifting the blockade, and this statement was read and presented as a document on the table of the two cosigners—before the accord was to be signed....

While this drama was taking place on some floors of the UN building, down in the lobby some 30 Greek and six Macedonian journalists intermingled in their common concern and in the three phone boxes at their disposal, trying to make up some kind of report for their publishing houses from the pieces of information and speculations at their disposal. "Here they come!" some of them shouted, referring to the ministers, and the group of people bearing television cameras, cables, and microphones ran in disorder to the metal fence that protected the guests and the UN officials. However, someone "uninteresting" was passing.

Time passed. The reception that was planned in honor of the Macedonian and Greek delegations in the White House that afternoon to "celebrate" the signing of the accord was canceled for that day. The Greek journalists were firm in their claims that the ceremony was totally canceled because Papoulias was planning to travel to Athens that same afternoon because of the government crisis. "If (the Americans) have succeeded in forcing him to sign, they will not succeed in forcing him to be photographed," one of them said.

Someone else, talking with such confidence that it seemed he had the White House protocol in his pocket, said that, with or without Papoulias, the ceremony had been canceled anyway. If Crvenkovski was going to be received, it would be at a much lower level. Nevertheless, the White House protocol found sufficient motives to postpone the reception three times—and it was at the highest possible level. As we know, it was held on 14 September, a day after the signing of the accord. The absence of Papoulias was his own problem.

After the signing of the accord, Mr. Vance, accompanied by his associates and the two foreign ministers, held a news conference for the expectant journalists. There was no end to the questions. When will Macedonia abolish its flag? When will negotiations on the name begin? Will the United States establish diplomatic relations with Macedonia? Relations have been established and letters have already been exchanged, Nimetz stated, and surprise could be seen on the faces of the Greek journalists.

Has Greece already lifted the blockade? Ask Greece, Mr. Vance replied, smiling but obviously tired. Really, has Greece lifted the blockade? We asked the same question later that evening of the Macedonian foreign minister.

"The lifting of the Greek embargo means a return to the situation that existed on the common border before the embargo. This situation implies nonrecognition of car registrations, Macedonian passports, traffic documents, and so on. This accord has the goal of trying to improve that situation in the next 30 days..." Crvenkovski explained.

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Commentary Weighs Pros, Cons

AU1809184695 Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA in Macedonian 16 Sep 95 p 13

[Commentary by Zoran Andonovski: "Finally—Hope!"]

[FBIS Translated Text] On Wednesday [13 September], Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] received an announcement for recognition by its third and perhaps most important neighbor—Greece—which has also officially, with the signing of the accord, committed itself to recognizing the state of its northern neighbor. So, we have taken one more step toward the completion of the process of affirmation of Macedonia that started exactly four years ago (only Belgrade's recognition is still missing, but this will most probably occur now because the only argument has been removed) and thus, the end of the Bucharest Agreement of 1913 has been practically reached. As a part of the packet, the United States has raised diplomatic relations with Macedonia to the ambassadorial level, and some consider this to be the greatest achievement, even greater than the signing of the document entitled "Interim Accord," and a strong signal that the United States is finally convinced that the survival of this state is in its interest.

Emotions should be forgotten in moments like these, and it is, first of all, important to be practical and to analyze thoroughly the future achievements of the accord with Greece, which obviously was the intention of the designers and signers of the accord. There is certainly no reason for euphoria because of the character of the document and because of all elements that have not been encompassed by the document, and therefore we should regard the signing of the document and the shaking of hands in New York as one strong light in the tunnel of Macedonian-Greek misunderstandings that indicates that perhaps this is the way to a definite outcome. This is probably the way in which we should interpret the seven years for which the accord has been signed, a time period that leaves possibilities for a withdrawal if the "light" turns out to be a false beacon. In any case, the public must get used to the fact that the problem with Greece will not only blaze during the years to come, but also for decades.

Although diplomats and analysts are not inclined to weigh up the advantages and the disadvantages of the accord, the mass media can and must do so. There is no doubt that Macedonia, by signing the document, first of all received recognition from Greece, unfortunately under its provisional name, but also that this concession opens possibilities for a kind of communication and the establishment of relations and for membership of organizations from which it was unjustifiedly excluded. This accord with Athens also dealt a lethal blow to those who trade in the territorial integrity and sovereignty of Macedonia and to the authors of the various Balkan federations in which it Macedonia is constantly placed without being consulted. Finally, after being placed between the hammer and the anvil of the two blockades, the opening of the southern border 30 days after the enforcement of the accord, in spite of all expected problems and holdups, will relieve Macedonia of the economic and psychological isolation of its citizens. It is not improbable that both countries will use this interim period to create new scores and fresh advantages. If it was not easy to reach a more or less general document, what will happen when the details reach the agenda? If the negotiations on an initial compromise were difficult, it is logical that they will be even more difficult in the future.

Ultimately, what can the negative aspects be? The greatest is in the future reactions and attitude of Greece, of course, together with the obligation to start a procedure regarding a new symbol for the flag. Regardless of how emotionally attached to it the Macedonian citizens have become in the past three years or how strongly they feel that this symbol is their own, it is going to be an unpleasant obligation. Bearing in mind the reactions to this, we can expect that, after the possible adoption of a new flag, the "new" and the "old" flags may be hoisted simultaneously in the streets, in offices, at meetings, at patriotic assemblies, and at public rallies.

One of the greatest dilemmas among the public is that regarding the name, which, as it is understood, remains an open question on the Macedonian-Greek bilateral plan, and negotiations are even being announced. Another question is how matters are going to be solved with other countries and organizations; but Macedonia should not be expected to undertake urgent measures and activities for "corrections," because it would probably be understood as a violation of the accord, which implies that neither side should do anything that might impede the process of rapprochement.

While exclusively positive reactions are arriving from around the world, the opinion of the public in Macedonia is divided. Some proclaim the rapprochement with Greece and the signing of the interim accord as a historic act, while others take it as national "treason." It is interesting that there are similar, even identical, reactions in Greece, which indicates that the accord is well balanced.

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Walesa Claims Yeltsin Wants Poland in NATO

AU1809135095 Munich FOCUS in German
18 Sep 95 pp 356-357

[Interview with Polish President Lech Walesa by G. Dometeit and M. Krol; place and date not given: "Savior From Distress"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [FOCUS] You recently apologized for mistakes during your term of office. What did you do wrong?

[Walesa] I talk of mistakes because the people talk of mistakes; and, if the people are dissatisfied, the president can hardly be satisfied. However, I am convinced that, in 50 years' time, a monument to me and my fellow fighters will stand in every town. We have achieved an enormous amount, but our achievements do not immediately have concrete effects. A system that has worked for 50 years cannot be completely turned around within five years.

[FOCUS] Which achievements do you mean?

[Walesa] If someone had told me in 1980 that I had 10 years to get the Russia military out of Poland, I would have won the bet. [sentence as published] This alone is an enormous achievement—not to mention that Germany is united now and the border is open. But the people have no money, so what does the open border bring them if they cannot go on vacation? What do they get from the departure of the Russian soldiers? Such successes are not of benefit so quickly.

[FOCUS] According to the polls, 55 percent of Poles feel nostalgia for the past. Will there be a return to communism?

[Walesa] The people certainly do not want a return to communism, but the security system, the division of power, the procedures for filling government posts—all of this has not yet been sufficiently reformed. The old cliques are still working.

[FOCUS] You have hardly any allies left. You have also been supporting the left....

[Walesa] If I had really supported the left, they would praise me today—so why are they fighting against me? What I supported was normality. I want to live in a normal country, and in a normal country there are also leftists, communists, and others. No one may be pushed to the fringe or underground.

[FOCUS] Will you support your competitor Hanna Gronkiewicz-Waltz if she has better prospects than you? She relies on the same conservative Catholic voters as you do.

[Walesa] No, I registered first with the Election Commission, and now she can support me. But it is not true, as the media keep claiming, that I want to become president at all costs. Rather, I am a slave to my life, a slave to my history. The coming term of office will be even more difficult than the current one. I foresee big demonstrations in fall and spring, including the occupation of ministries, with which the police will not be able to cope. With my life I have proved that I can cope with such situations.

[FOCUS] You are accused of autocracy and an authoritarian style of leadership.

[Walesa] I have always been a loner, and I have always played a lone game. But why is that so? From 1970 on I was constantly bugged. I knew that the bugs were in the fireplace and in the wall. This forced me to make many decisions on my own. This did not change much even when I became president. Over the past years, the conditions in politics and in parliament have turned me into a Robin Hood.

[FOCUS] Which voters do you actually want to win over? According to the latest polls, 7 percent of Poles, at most, intend to vote for you.

[Walesa] My understanding of politics is different; I am a practical worker, not a theoretician. You may imagine that I am going to appeal to the electricians to support me. No! I will say that I have managed to do some things in this office and I have failed to do others. And for that I want my reward. Our country will be free and no one else will rule here or revolt—not the Russians nor the Americans nor the Germans; this must be clear.

[FOCUS] How seriously do you take the threat of Russian President Boris Yeltsin, who has warned against expanding NATO to the east?

[Walesa] Yeltsin has aimed precisely in the opposite direction. He has pushed the ball into the opposite direction so that it would fall into the right hole. Yeltsin wanted to have us finally join NATO—because this benefits him in the election campaign.

[FOCUS] Do you believe Yeltsin is justified in complaining that he has not been included sufficiently in the West's policy in the Balkans?

[Walesa] We respect Yeltsin and will always respect him because, despite everything, he has achieved much. Just like us, Yeltsin wants peace and quiet. Our joining NATO is not to be a preparation for fighting with Russia. The point is to enlarge one bloc to prevent a new edition of the second one. The condition of accepting new countries is that they do not have any nationality conflicts, religious conflicts, or other obstacles. We

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Poles are thinking in the categories of the 21st century. NATO, on the other hand, still thinks as in the 19th century. It is looking for confrontation with Russia instead of extending its sphere of influence. But how can one make this clear to the West?

[FOCUS] Do you fear a new Cold War following the harsh tones of the past few days?

[Walesa] The Cold War was possible at the time of the Iron Curtain. Given today's cross-border media, this is no longer possible. In addition, the economic costs of the Cold War, which the former Soviet Union paid, were far too high. I do not think anyone will want to pay similar costs once again.

[FOCUS] If Poland becomes a NATO member, it must also expect to participate in combat missions. Are the Poles willing to do that?

[Walesa] NATO membership is not only a privilege, but also an obligation. We are aware of this and are willing to pay the price for it. The Poles remember very well that people did not want to die for Gdansk (in World War II), but Europe had to die for London and Paris. Poland knows that you sometimes have to make smaller sacrifices to prevent bigger ones.

[FOCUS] When should Poland become a NATO member?

[Walesa] As soon as possible. We fulfill the conditions. Our accession extends the zone of stability—that is why all of Europe should be interested in it.

[FOCUS] Recently you said that the German minority in Poland might pose a threat if Poland's integration in the West were to be delayed. Might the Poles' fears of Germany break again at any time, despite the good-neighborly relations?

[Walesa] Our Republic also wants to be the fatherland for the minorities. However, any national identity must also be linked to loyalty to the country where one lives. Apart from that, the minorities are an enrichment for our people. Of course, Germans and Poles are still struggling with historical prejudices. We have already learned much from each other, but this process still needs time. The Germans have done much for us over the past years—and we appreciate this.

More on Okonski's News Conference on U.S. Visit

WS1809145695 Warsaw POLSKA ZBROJNA in Polish 18 Sep 95 pp 1-2

[Article by Andrzej Medykowski: "The United States and Canada Support Our Efforts To Join NATO; Minister Okonski's Press Conference"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *On return from the United States and Canada, National Defense Minister Zbigniew Wojciech Okonski met with journalists. The main topics discussed were security issues, including our aspirations to joining NATO, Polish-American military and technological cooperation, as well as problems of strengthening defense of the country and modernizing the armament of the Polish Armed Forces.*

"American and Canadian politicians perceive Poland as the country that is the most advanced in the process of joining an expanded NATO. I would like to stress support for our aspirations to join NATO, particularly support from the defense minister of Canada. This country will demand an answer not only to the question of how and why, but also of who and when," the minister stressed.

"We discussed Partnership for Peace [PFP] issues. Poland is looked upon as a regional center with great powers and a considerable number of initiatives and training programs implemented as part of PFP (more than 260 ventures this year)."

During his talks, Minister Okonski brought up the issue of deepening and raising to a higher level the command over the training in next year's PFP program, which his American interlocutors agreed with.

Bilateral relations were an important subject discussed during the minister's visit. Over the next few months, negotiations will be held on an agreement on mutual military supplies. This would make it possible for the United States to lift the 50-percent tax on goods for the U.S. Armed Forces.

"We reached an agreement on drawing upon the experience of the Americans in the planning and budgeting of the Armed Forces. Specific programs will be adapted to the Polish reality with the help of American specialists. We also arrived at an understanding on the participation of American and Polish specialists in the construction of an airspace control and defense system. In the immediate future, a delegation of Polish specialists will go to the United States to hold talks, the purpose of which will be to work out a plan on eliminating the existing differences between the system of civilian and military control that is currently being implemented in Poland on the one hand and the NATO systems on the other."

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William Perry confirmed that the American partner is interested in selling used but modernized or new F-16 aircraft. Both concepts have already been approved by the U.S. Government. "I said unequivocally that four offers are being considered. The offer whose conditions will be the most favorable to the Polish side will be approved by the Polish authorities in due time," Minister Okonski said. He also stressed that the American offer includes elements involving the use of the Polish aircraft industry. It is worth adding that, over the next five years, we should complement our equipment with two to three squadrons—that is, by 24 to 36 aircraft—and that by 2010 all of the equipment should be replaced.

The talks also included President Clinton's initiative regarding U.S. aid. The decision on the sum ($20-25 million) should be made by mid-October. Half of this sum can be earmarked for the purchase of the most up-to-date American equipment, while the other half will be allocated for training envisioned in the PFP program.

In both the United States and Canada, the talks also concerned education of officers and provision of a training period for them in the combat units of both states.

The Canadian Defense Ministry wants to buy multifunction helicopters and intends to invite bids. Our Sokol would satisfy the technological conditions; therefore, the head of the ministry encouraged the Polish side to submit its offer as soon as possible.

Minister Okonski answered a lot of questions; he also spoke about the statement made by Deputy [Foreign] Minister Andrzej Karkoszka and about the costs that integration with NATO entails. We must modernize the Polish Armed Forces, renew the infrastructure, and provide orders for the Polish defense industry. The defense minister believes that we will find it easier to achieve all of this together with other NATO members rather than alone.

While discussing the presidential draft law on the five-year plan to modernize the Polish defense system, the minister said that work is under way on how defense spending should be financed in future budgets. "On my motion and as a result of the work of the interministerial team, there are several versions of the five-year plan regarding expenditures on the defense system. I believe that, in a few weeks' time, we will be able to say how the government sees the development of the Polish defense system over the next few years and then over a period of more than 10 years," the minister stressed.

Poll: Kwasniewski, Walesa Gain in Presidential Race

WS1809133395 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 18 Sep 95 pp 1, 3

[Report by Agnieszka Kublik: "OBOP and CBOS Polls; Battle for Second Place"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *Aleksander Kwasniewski has recouped the losses he incurred in August. In the presidential ranking, he has twice as much support as Hanna Gronkiewicz-Waltz and Lech Walesa. The latter has leaped to second place forcefully. The fact that Adam Strzembosz has withdrawn from the race will not result in a considerable increase in support for the bank chairperson.*

Since the previous poll conducted by the Center for Research on Public Opinion [OBOP], Kwasniewski's rating has improved by 7 percent. As recently as two weeks ago, the difference between him and Gronkiewicz-Waltz was only 5 percent (19 percent and 14 percent, respectively). Sociologists explained that this decrease in the rating of the Democratic Left Alliance [SLD] leader was caused by a mistake made by the Oleksy Cabinet: A few days before the poll, the government issued contradictory statements on the additional rise in pensions and finally gave up this idea completely.

What mattered was also probably the fact that, right before the poll, the episcopate appealed to believers not to vote for Aleksander Kwasniewski: "The Polish Episcopate (...) cautions against electing (...) people who wielded power at the highest party-government level in the period of the totalitarian state."

Even though polls conducted by the Public Opinion Research Center [CBOS] suggest that most Poles disapprove of the fact that the political role played by the church is becoming increasingly important, the possibility cannot be ruled out that such a clear appeal by the highest church officials was received well by many people.

Kwasniewski and Walesa Gained

One can say, therefore, that the latest leap made by Kwasniewski is more likely to mean that he has regained his former position (before the vacations, support for him ranged between 23 percent and 25 percent) rather than that he gained new supporters. Sociologists stress that the electorate of the SLD leader is "satiated"—it is not likely to increase any more; it can only thin out if Kwasniewski or the SLD take some witless step.

The other politician who has recouped his losses over the past two weeks is Lech Walesa: Support for him

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increased from 7 percent to 12 percent. The incumbent president has not had such a good result for a long time. Walesa is now second, together with Gronkiewicz-Waltz.

How Much Will the Bank President Gain?

Will the bank chairperson's chance of success grow now that Adam Strzembosz has backed out? He declared that he would offer his votes to her. CBOS analyses show that Gronckiwicz-Waltz's chances will not be any greater for that. In the latest polls, support for the president of the Supreme Court was only 2 percent; this is how many respondents declared that they would like to vote for him.

Even if a large number of voters decided to back the president of the National Bank of Poland, it would mean that her rating would improve by mere percentage fractions.

CBOS emphasizes that "voters do not have to automatically start supporting another candidate representing the same political philosophy if this candidate is not a suitable candidate in other respects as well."

CBOS also draws attention to the fact that it would be advantageous to Gronkiewicz-Waltz if any of the presidential candidates decided to back out. Of course, she would gain the most if the strongest rivals withdrew. According to CBOS, if Walesa backed out, as many as one in four of his supporters would join Gronkiewicz-Waltz's camp. This would mean that support for her would increase by 3 percent (approximately 500,000 votes), which would make 15 percent. She would gain just as much if Kwasniewski backed out (she could take over one in 10 of his voters). If Jacek Kuron backed out (she would also attract one in 10 of his supporters), her position in the ranking would go up by only 1 percent.

The CBOS poll was conducted between 3 and 8 August on a random, representative sample of 1,081 adult Poles; OBOP took its poll between 8 and 12 September on a random, representative sample of 1,052 adult Poles.

Three Leading Presidential Candidates

	Jul 95	Aug 95	Sep 95
	Percent		
Aleksander Kwasniewski	23	19	26
Hanna Gronkiewicz-Waltz	12	14	12
Lech Walesa	9	7	12

Bishop Assails SLD 'Arrogance' on Concordat Vote

LD1809131095 Warsaw Polskie Radio First Program Network in Polish 1200 GMT 18 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Bishop of Tarnow Jozef Zycinski, in a published statement, has called the recent vote by Democratic Left Alliance [SLD] deputies on the Concordat [between Poland and the Vatican] an expression of arrogance toward the feelings Catholics in Poland have for Pope John Paul II.

In the recent vote, chiefly with SLD votes, the Sejm rejected the report of the Extraordinary Commission, which declared that the Concordat was in line with the Constitution. In Bishop Zycinski's opinion, introducing a party whip during the voting on the Concordat infringed on the deputy's freedom of conscience. The Tarnow ordinary recognized this as an important characteristic of totalitarian mentality, in which the party interest is more important than personal convictions.

Presenting Bishop Zycinski's letter, Bishop Tadeusz Pieronek, the secretary-general of the Polish Episcopate, said that the statement was the correct reaction to what was happening to the Concordat. In Bishop Pieronek's opinion, the government is to blame for the agreement with the Holy See not being ratified, because, as he put it, it is playing for time. Krystyna Koziol at the microphone.

[Koziol] At a news conference in Warsaw after the conclusion in Wigry [Suwalki Province, northeastern Poland] of the 279th Plenary Conference of the Polish Episcopate, Bishop Pieronek said that the government was to blame for the delay in ratifying the Concordat and that its actions in the matter had been perfunctory. True, the government had tabled the Concordat before parliament with unanimous support, Bishop Pieronek said, but it had not sent the legislation connected with the Concordat on time. Bishop Pieronek repeated what

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he had said in Wigry, that he saw no sense in talks with the government, but here at the news conference in Warsaw, he added that he does not rule out such talks if the government shows goodwill. Parliament, Bishop Pieronek said, should be pure and clear in its decisions. As regards the Concordat, it said neither yes nor no, and the bishop described delaying its ratification as scandalous. This happened because of the SLD, Bishop Pieronek said and added that that political option [the SLD] had put party before national interest. Bishop Pieronek confirmed his words that, if a postcommunist candidate has a chance in the presidential election, the episcopate may publish a letter on the subject to the faithful.

Oleksy on Bishop Pieronok's Remark

LD1909084895 Warsaw Polskie Radio First Program Network in Polish 0700 GMT 19 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Prime Minister Jozef Oleksy has said that he is, as he put it, worried by the remarks made yesterday by Bishop Tadeusz Pieronek. The bishop said that the battle for the Concordat is of a religious nature.

In an interview for Polish radio, the head of the Polish Government said that any talk about a religious war in a democratic Poland, where the church enjoys such wide-ranging liberty, is bad, dangerous, and morally unjustified. Prime Minister Jozef Oleksy added that he is not convinced that the current atmosphere serves the work on the Concordat well.

[Begin Oleksy recording] I do not want to say or do anything that could cause a deterioration in the relations between the government and the church, the state and the church, but I will say that I am worried by a remark made by Bishop Pieronek about a religious war. I think there is some misunderstanding, and I think that historical periods must have been mixed up. Today, in a democratic Poland, with all of the enormous openness in relations between the state and the church, in this position that the church enjoys, with all of the freedoms we undoubtedly have, to talk about a religious war is something very very bad, dangerous, and, I would say, morally unjustified.

If part of the Polish Episcopate is attacking the government today—because I deeply believe it is not the position of all of the bishops who appraise the situation of the church in Poland honestly and objectively—I trust that attacks by the church on the government I lead will be appraised objectively by society. [end recording]

Deputies Submit Draft Law To Limit NBP Powers

WS1909105495 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 19 Sep 95 p 1

[Report by SAD: "Helpless NBP"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *The coalition of the Democratic Left Alliance [SLD] and the Polish Peasant Party [PSL] wants to considerably limit the independence of the National Bank of Poland [NBP]. The president and the board of the NBP would be degraded to executors of decisions made by the NBP Council, an entirely new organ whose members would be appointed by the parliament, the government, and the Union of Polish Banks.*

The new draft law on the NBP, which has been signed by 33 SLD deputies and eight PSL deputies, has already been initially approved by the Sejm's legislative office.

Disputes between the NBP and each subsequent government over the financing of the budget deficit, interest rates, and the exchange rate of the zloty have become a tradition, even though it was only when Kolodko assumed office that these disputes began to be waged in public. Even though for a long time now there has been talk of draft laws that would change the relationship between the NBP and the government, this is the first time such a bill has made its way to the Sejm.

In line with the draft, the central bank would be obliged by law to "cooperate in implementing the state's economic policy."

However, the most significant novelty seems to be the proposal that all of the most important decisions, such as preparing financial policy guidelines and setting the interest rates, should not be made exclusively by the NBP.

The draft law reads that the NBP president "ceases to be the super organ" that has to have the last word. In cases of the most important decisions, a new collegiate organ would come into play: the NBP Council. Aside from the NBP president, the council would consist of "eight experts appointed by the government, the parliament, and the Union of Polish Banks." These people will be neither parliament members nor employees of the central state administration. The term of the council's members would be six years, and for that period they would suspend their party activities.

A representative of the government would be allowed to take part in the council's sessions as an observer. Even though the draft law does not give him the right to vote, it does authorize him to bloc the implementation of the council's decisions for a period of two weeks.

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The draft law practically limits the role of the NBP leadership to implementing decisions made by the NBP Council and to managing day-to-day activities of the bank.

The NBP president would be appointed and recalled by the Sejm after consulting the prime minister about it; the head of the bank would not be recalled on the motion of the president, as happens now. Before assuming office, the bank's president would have to take an oath: "The purpose of my activities will be economic development of the fatherland and well-being of the citizens." We might add: "So help me God," suggest SLD deputies who have submitted the draft.

The draft law envisions establishing an institution of banking supervision and separating it from the NBP, just as is the case in other EU countries.

Majority of Poles Favor NATO, EU Integration

95EP0177B Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 1 Aug 95 p 6

[Article by Jan Skorzynski: "Orientation: Westward"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The consensus existing among the main political forces as to the objectives of Polish foreign policy has in recent years been discussed fulsomely. Yet belief in this consensus has been opened to doubt by the dispute over Poland's participation in the Moscow ceremonies of the end of World War II. Even earlier, it was questioned by Andrzej Olechowski when he resigned as minister of foreign affairs and pointed to the hesitancy of the governing coalition regarding the westward orientation of foreign policy. Might it not be as easy to undermine another stereotype—the social support enjoyed by the main objectives of that policy?

Well, no. In that respect the social preferences are much more unequivocal than the views of the political elites. Were a referendum to be held tomorrow on the question of Poland's entry into NATO, 74 percent of Poles would vote in favor of our country's participation in that Atlantic alliance. Such was the finding of a Demoskop poll conducted last June. Also according to that poll, the question about joining the European Union was answered by an equal proportion of respondents: Of Polish citizens, 74 percent supported membership in the EU.

It can thus be unhesitatingly stated that a considerable majority of Poles are in favor of the westward course adopted after 1989. This tendency is much more stable than the acceptance of the free-market economic reforms that were undertaken by the Solidarity camp after it assumed power. Thus, while discouragement with the so-called social costs of the reforms (whatever that might mean) eased the return to power for postcommunist groupings now in power, the unwavering support of the Polish public for the westward orientation of foreign policy is forcing them to continue that course of their predecessors. It can be hoped that this attitude of the electorate will also in the future compel all political forces to stay that course of foreign policy.

What are the motives behind that attitude? To some it is fear of an external threat. Thirty-four percent of those polled by Demoskop thought that Poland is in peril (57 percent thought that it is secure). When asked what country was imperiling Poland, as many as 80 percent of the respondents named Russia, and only 11 percent named Germany.

But while fear of Russia is to some extent pushing us into the arms of NATO, our desire to join the EU is based on our positive opinion of that Western European community. Such conclusions ensue from the findings of Eurobarometer polls conducted in November 1994 under the auspices of the EU's European Commission. Forty-two percent of the Polish respondents viewed positively the objectives and actions of the European Union, 23 percent had no opinion on the matter, and only 7 percent were negative about it. This ranks Poland third on the list of Euro-enthusiasts, after Albania and Romania, among the Central European countries.

The generally positive view of Polish citizens regarding the political-economic and military communities of the West represents substantial capital on the road to integration. It can be utilized or...wasted. The answer depends on the politicians.

Right-Wing Parties, Movements Critically Evaluated

95EP0178A Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 12-13 Aug 95 pp 6-9

[Article by Irena Morawska: "Someday We'll Grow Our Hair Back"]

[FBIS Translated Text] "We shall be like a virus which imperceptibly bores into the organism of the system, thus resulting in its death," (Derek Holland, British nationalist, friend and associate of the National Rebirth of Poland party).

"Poland is being menaced by another partition! The Jews are selling us!" said Boleslaw Tejkowski, the head of the Polish National Community-Polish National Party. Nervously adjusting his gray, tight-fitting suit coat, he stared at a miniature white and red flag standing on a table in the party's Warsaw office.

"Not a partition but the absorption of Poland by foreign nations," according to Konrad Rekas, a member of the

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Szczerbiec National Party and a law student at the Catholic University of Lublin.

"The Unification of Europe will deprive Poland of its sovereignty and destroy our national, cultural, historical, and biological identity. We must prevent it," Krzysztof Kawecki, chairman of the suprapartisan Association of the National Right Wing, appealed at the KUL [Catholic University of Lublin].

The National Right Wing consists of members of: Maciej Giertych's (so-called "senioral") National Party, Marian Baranski's Szczerbiec National Party, the Christian-National Union, the Union for Real Politics, Jan Zamoyski's National-Democratic Party, and Romuald Szeremietiew's Movement for the Republic.

"First we'll clear our country of the crap that is littering it," 18-year-old Maciek of the National Rebirth of Poland (NOP) explained, "namely, of junkies, gays, Russians, Romanians, and Jews. Then we'll attend to the traitors."

Maciek's boss, Chairman Adam Gmurczyk clarified, "The traitors are those who sold Poland in the Maastricht Treaty." He drags on a cigarette and calmly adds, "And for a traitor there remains just one thing: the gallows."

In the party's extreme-right monthly SZCZERBIEC, published in Warsaw, Gmurczyk defined it more precisely: "If the shadows of gallows still do not cover the country, this demonstrates best how far the political rot has advanced."

We're Creating a New Man

In the meantime, in the shadow of the leaders of the dozen or so nationalist parties, the NOP is creating the New Poland and the New Man, that is, the Political Soldier. It is being helped in this task by the Institute for Polish National Political Thought, whose chairman and honorary member of the NOP is Miroslaw S. Zochowski. The Institute and the NOP are, properly speaking, the same thing.

"We're collecting archival materials," said Chairman Zochowski. "We visit old men who are about to depart from this world, and receive from them valuable material on our country."

The National Rebirth of Poland has been in existence as a party since 1981. Before it was registered as a political party in 1992, it operated in the underground in Communist Poland. However, it is not listed in the lexicon of underground parties. Jacek Kaminski, a former NOP member and student at Warsaw University, currently a reporter for the weekly MYSL POLSKA, reminisced, "We were everywhere. Our banners appeared at every student strike, at every rally, at every pilgrimage."

The NOP engaged in training activities (it took part in lectures at, among other places, the Warsaw Church of the Virgin of Czestochowa on Zagorna Street). Its older members lectured in private apartments.

The NOP was also present in the salon of Attorney Napoleon Siemaszka.

The NOP Publishing House Jestem Polakiem [I Am a Pole] published books by, among others, Roman Dmowski, Feliks Koneczny, Jedrzej Giertych, Stanislaw Glabinski, and the Rev. Michal Poradowski.

"We got the funds for our publishing activities from the Polish nationalists in London," reminisced Jacek Kaminski.

Spiritually and Ideologically

In the 1990's the NOP experienced a renaissance. It joined the International Third Position (ITP), whose leader, Roberto Fiore (an Italian businessman in England), provided the NOP with moral support. "In Europe there are hundreds of your comrades in the struggle who shall not abandon you and who are, like one body, ready to suffer when you suffer. Do not feel lonely even at the worst moments. We are with you, and hence the future also belongs to us."

Miroslaw S. Zochowski has no illusions: "The future belongs to the NOP and its friends in the Western nationalist parties. They provide us with spiritual and ideological support."

Jacek Kaminski stressed that Adam Gmurczyk has always been fascinated by the Western nationalist parties.

The Failure, the Paranoiac, and We

Chairman Gmurczyk views his party as the only genuine national party on the Polish political scene and the sole nationalist movement with a clearly defined doctrine. As he puts it, "The other parties are 'national' in name only. Many of them harbor the ideology of the PAX [a Catholic movement that supported the Communist regime] or of the socialist or communist parties, because their leaders were of that origin." He added, "Aside from Tejkowski, who can be considered a clinical case. Besides, he is antinational, because he places the Slavic community above the Polish nation."

(Tejkowski's view of the NOP: "They are boys in short pants, pro-Jewish saboteurs.")

Miroslaw S. Zochowski shares Gmurczyk's opinion and adds, "Giertych is a failure. Rybicki is a paranoiac. Only we count."

According to Adam Gmurczyk, the NOP has 1,500 to 3,000 members. But he prefers not to talk about figures.

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"They are not important. What counts is efficiency of action. We still are too few."

The average age of a member is 30. The NOP, while the youngest nationalist party in Poland, is the oldest in seniority, Gmurczyk stressed.

Grzegorz K., a sympathizer of the extreme right, and a psychology major at the Catholic University of Lublin, told me that nationalism has become fashionable among university youth.

Jacek Kaminski confirmed this, adding that the Union for Real Politics is also popular among students.

Rafal Pankowski, the 19-year-old author of the brochure "Where Patriotism Ends....From the Annals of Polish Fascist-Like Groups, 1922-1992" (Kanalezja Press, Bydgoszcz, 1993) and student at Warsaw University, is interested in the nationalist phenomenon as an element of history, and does not share the above opinion. "In a sense, the NOP has become fashionable, just as previously the parties of Tejkowski and then of Bryczkowski were fashionable."

Members of the NOP, students at the Academy of Catholic Theology and the Higher School of Special Education, are doing research into the NOP and the participation of youth in nationalist radicalism.

The NOP has set up 12 districts in this country, along with offices in many large cities, the most active being in Lodz, Krakow, and Warsaw. In Warsaw, Gmurczyk claimed, there exist eight chapters, with the most active operating in the Zoliborz, Praga, and Wola quarters, along with chapters at several universities (Warsaw University, Academy of Fine Arts, Military Technical Academy, and two business schools). A chapter also is active in England.

Like any other extreme-right party, the NOP includes skinheads among its members.

Why All This Hysteria?

The average citizen does not know the party affiliation of the skinheads who killed a German driver in Nowa Huta and of those who beat up Dutch tourists in Wroclaw, or who

—trample on symbols of Jewish culture and burn the Israeli flag;

—assault Gypsies and Romanians.

Nor does he know which party was responsible for the beatings of dark-skinned athletes in Stargard or of the Negro woman in Gdansk on the occasion of "Hitler's birthday."

Neither does he know the authors of such graffiti as "POLAND FOR POLES," "WHITE POWER," or "JUDEN RAUS."

After a beating he received from skinheads, Marcin Swietlicki of Krakow, the currently most popular poet of the rising generation and leader of the Swietlicki rock band, does not remember whether his assailants belonged to the party of Tejkowski or to that of Gmurczyk or Giertych. All he remembers is that, while striking him, they chorused, "Wisla, Krakow, i Polska dla Polakow" [The Vistula, Krakow, and Poland for Poles].

Swietlicki said, "I never faced a nationalist singly, or a nationalist of the older generation...."

Adam Gmurczyk, the "single" 31-year-old nationalist and chief of the NOP, readily answered, "The young always enjoy fistfights. Besides, we all know that Poles are xenophobic. So why the hysteria?"

A nationalist of the "older generation," 57-year-old Miroslaw S. Zochowski, who has a Ph.D. in sociology, defined this more precisely, "The blacks have their Africa, the Asians Asia, and we have our Europe and our countries in it."

The Cooperation Did Not Work Out

Press records contain just trace references to the National Rebirth of Poland (NOP). NOP leaders admit that it is not a popular party. "But we have our channels where they are needed," admitted Miroslaw S. Zochowski.

The NOP first gained publicity in October 1989, when the Christian-National Union (ZChN) was being established. "A young colleague brought Gmurczyk and his friends," Prof. Wieslaw Chrzanowski reminisced. "We knew little about them, so we admitted them. But it did not work out and after three months we parted ways."

Jacek Kaminski revealed the reason why at that time the NOP had joined the ZchN: "At the time the NOP had so few members that we padded our list with names of acquaintances in order to reach the minimum of 50 members."

A former NOP (and current ZChN) member who wishes to remain anonymous commented that Adam Gmurczyk had from the beginning wanted to remain the leader. "He was not comfortable in any other role than that of party leader, and he probably feared that the ideals of the NOP would become diluted in a merger with a bigger party. That is certainly why the merger did not work out."

Many members of nationalist parties are ignorant of the preoccupations of the NOP. Those who now and

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then leaf through SZCZERBIEC hide their former ties. "That was long ago," said one civil servant who wants to remain anonymous, "These people are different, and the nature of the NOP is different."

Former associates of Adam Gmurczyk remember him as a good pal and a sociable man. "Half a year ago I had a beer with Adam," reminisced Piotr Kolanowski, a MYSL POLSKA reporter and former NOP activist. "He's still a fine boon companion."

In 1989 the NOP was suspected of an attack on the offices of the PPS [Polish Socialist Party]. But the police gathered no evidence. "Then skinheads began to appear within the NOP," said Jacek Kaminski. "We didn't like it too much, but... we admitted every applicant. It must have been one of them that did that assault and battery."

In 1990 skinheads from the NOP served as bodyguards at the Congress of the Polish Right in Warsaw. They were referred to as "the boys with swastikas." Adam Gmurczyk protested against the swastikas.

Rafal Pankowski, a member of one of the several groups combatting the nationalists, the Anti-Nazi Group, recalls that NOP members wore emblems resembling the swastika. "It seems that it was the swastika of the Afrikaner Resistance Movement."

"White Proud"

I visited the NOP chairman at the home of his parents in Warsaw's Jelonki, where he has his own room and the party's office.

On the trash bin outside, "NOP" is painted in big letters.

Adam Gmurczyk said that he was recruited into the NOP by his parents and teachers. His sister is also an activist.

Gmurczyk is a historian at the Academy of Catholic Theology. He sat at his computer, wearing a black shirt with the inscription "White Proud" (White Pride) and shorts. In the background was a red and white Polish national flag to which was added a black hand holding a sword, with the wrist bent.

The hand with the sword is appearing increasingly on wall graffiti in many cities. This also is the inseparable emblem that appears on party flyers and the monthly SZCZERBIEC. This also is the gold symbol which Adam Gmurczyk wears on a silver chain around his neck. "One of our members, an engraver, made it," he explained.

The Black Sword

The sword is to cut through evil and "the rot pervading the nation." It symbolizes the struggle against the enemy, "against communism and democracy, those twin forms of the antinational system," against the "intensifying immigration of ethnically and racially alien elements," and against the "Judeo-masonic conspiracy against the Polish nation."

The sword is the symbol of the struggle for a Roman Catholic Church ("rather than one pervaded by Judaism and Freemasonry") and for the death penalty.

The external enemies of the Polish nation are: the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, the united Europe, and NATO.

The hand holding the sword, along with the ideology, was borrowed by the NOP from the masthead of the prewar daily ABC, belonging to the National-Radical Camp (ONR). "The idea of Greater Poland, the idea of Poland for Poles, the idea of Polish Power, has endured. Because in the past it was the ONR and now it is the NOP."

God—("He to whom the real Pole prays"), Honor, Fatherland, Homeland—such are the values outlining the "shining path" trod by the NOP nationalists.

Elections as an Aphrodisiac

The NOP as an extreme nationalist movement "has shouldered responsibility for the fate of a National Poland and a National Europe.... We must mercilessly root out enemies."

Adam Gmurczyk did not allow me to turn on a tape recorder. He also emphasized that two or three members of the party's governing board have been designated to grant press interviews. Should I interview any NOP member without his permission, he would brand as lies the information I obtained.

He spoke firmly and confidently. He chain-smoked.

He stressed that the NOP was not established in order to fight against the present system of society but in order to destroy it. Unlike the other nationalist parties the NOP does not support the parliamentary system (which did not prevent the NOP leader from sending Prof. Chrzanowski a letter congratulating him on his appointment as speaker of Sejm). Gmurczyk believes that parliamentary and presidential elections are "a kind of aphrodisiac enjoyed by certain elderly gentlemen."

The Ranks Are Growing

That is why the NOP is boycotting elections. "We're planning an antielection campaign," the NOP leader revealed, and he added, "We are in favor of a corporate state. Neither communism nor capitalism. Some elements of such a state we perceive in Chile and Portugal."

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"The third way, that is the corporate state, or the National Great Poland with a strong army as a knightly order, will be achieved by the NOP in one or perhaps two generations. Then it expects to take power. How? Through the National Revolution. For the time being we are growing in strength. What strength? By gaining young adherents."

Two years ago the NOP member Dariusz Mista told GAZETA KRAKOWSKA that it is difficult to change the mentality of adults, and "that is why the rising generation of Poles is in the orbit of interests of the nationalists."

"I travel around Poland with my younger fellow activists. We organize meetings and lectures. My wife is taking care of our 15-year-old son, who fortunately is interested in the NOP," Miroslaw S. Zochowski confided to me.

"School after school, street after street," is the device of the NOP.

Adam Gmurczyk was gratified to note on the pages of SZCZERBIEC, "The ranks of organized nationalism are growing.... Numerous local initiatives influencing the community in accordance with their needs are rising—this is an evident sign of the strength harbored in Poles and of the turning point of the decline. And it is the rising generation that is the source of this proactivism."

The chief internal enemy of the Polish nation is the Jew, in the opinion of many nationalists, including the NOP. It is he with his Talmud who is roiling the order of the Latin civilization from which the pure Pole originates. I asked Adam Gmurczyk, "What Jews? Where do you see those who imperil Poland? And how do they imperil her?"

He answered in the language of the leader of the ONR, Phalange Boleslaw Piasecki, "The Jew is that human element which has always broken up the national unity of Poles. Other peoples have somehow become assimilated, even Germans and Russians, but the Jew always remains a divisive element."

Next, puffing on a cigarette, he added, "This does not apply to the Jews who wear yarmulkes. What is worse, these pseudo-Poles are saturated with Jewish mentality. They swarm everywhere and they are toying with Poland for their own ends. One cannot look at this with one's hands folded. And we shall not act with kid gloves on."

A Friend of Le Pen

On the doors of the small room, next to a small image of the Holy Virgin, there is the sign, "CAUTION, THE ENEMY IS LISTENING." Adam Gmurczyk said, laughing, "This was a gift for my 30th birthday." Alongside with posters and flyers ("The Future Belongs To Us—The NOP Is Fighting, the NOP Is Watching, the NOP Is Forging a New Poland," etc., there hang pictures of Jean-Marie Le Pen, the leader of the French National Front. The biggest poster, showing Le Pen with a crowd in the background, was hung by Gmurczyk so as to face him while he works on the computer. "This is a very sensible man," he commented.

Krzysztof Kawecki of the National Right invited the leader of French nationalists to Poland ("I invited him personally"). Adam Gmurczyk commented caustically, "This is not the first time he has invited him, but Le Pen somehow can never find the time to come."

If, however, Le Pen does visit Poland this coming fall, the NOP will be glad to meet with him and interview him for SZCZERBIEC, which can be bought at newsstands in many cities, including the Okecie Airport.

Adam Gmurczyk claims that Le Pen's success in the West imbues Polish nationalists with confidence and strength. Tejkowski also thinks so: "Le Pen is proof that we are following the right path. Should the Jews in our native land give us access to television, we would prove that one-half of Poland supports us."

The Gift of Gab

Just as Le Pen is an authority to Polish nationalists, so Adam Gmurczyk is idolized by some young people. "He's a genuine patriot," said 18-year-old Maciek, his voice trembling. "Our leader says that the nationalists are the most conscious segment of the nation. He is so devoted to the idea that he has not even started a family and holds no job."

"He is an admirable titan of labor," opined Zochowski.

Adam Gmurczyk confirmed that he has no job, "Sometimes on Saturdays I move stones on construction sites. That is a sure and rapid way of earning some money."

Former NOP members Jacek Kaminski and Piotr Kolanowski of the MYSL POLSKA weekly claim that Gmurczyk has always shown a desire to be the center of attention. He always wanted to be a leader.

Jacek Kaminski said, "He demonstratively ignores conflicting views. With him, action comes before thought. He likes to act."

For one-and-one-half years (1988-89) Gmurczyk was chairman of the student body government at the Academy of Catholic Theology.

His former NOP associates claim that Gmurczyk has the gift of persuasion and attraction. Jacek Kaminski

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observed, "Out of every ten new NOP members, four or five were personally recruited by Adam."

Why did Jacek part with the NOP? "Adam is a radical nationalist, whereas I am a traditional one," he answered. "Our ways of thinking are different."

We Are Cleaning Up the Streets

Maciek's head is shaved and he wears a white shirt, black braces, and a wide belt. The bottoms of his jeans are lightly rolled up so as to show his heavy boots with white laces. He wears a windbreaker and a backpack with the words, "Gas the Jews!" He says with studied coolness, "On our backpacks we express our ideology. We are nationalists."

Anna Wyka, a sociologist from the Institute of Philosophy and Sociology, Polish Academy of Sciences, believes that the leaders of the extreme-right parties employ the word "nationalism" for tactical and strategic reasons. "The others blindly emulate this linguistic catchword, because they are too young, too poorly educated in terms of knowledge of history and ideas."

In this sense the word nationalism is a symbol of frustration and horror. "This is such a weird reversal of meaning: weakness, not strength; fear of freedom, fear of assuming personal responsibility for oneself and loved ones," Wyka added.

Young NOP members describe themselves as "the boys from the Movement."

Maciek attends a Warsaw vocational school. He is studying to be a pastry cook. He dreams of becoming an NOP member. As a candidate member he attends training courses organized by the party. The lectures are given at private homes or in a church. As to what church, Maciek will not tell. "That would be disloyal to the Leader."

I asked Adam Gmurczyk about the church. He answered, "After all, officially the Roman Catholic Church keeps away from such matters."

Honorary NOP Member Miroslaw S. Zochowski feels bothered by a church-related problem: "What to do when a priest in Minsk, Mazowiecki, uses the pulpit to tell parishioners to buy SZCZERBIEC while another shouts against it? There is an unpleasant exchange of opinions. What for?"

The party chairman repeated, "One is not a real Pole only from 0800 to 1600 hours, or by sitting at home. The greatness of the National Fatherland is born of struggle and action."

The training is preceded by a three-month period of "actions." Maciek has demonstrated the commitment required of a future Political Soldier.

"The actions are life in earnest," he said. "We clean up the streets."

Cleaning up the streets here means clearing them of such "filth" as Romanians, blacks, Asians, punks, and anarchists. The boys jokingly call themselves garbage men.

Throat Choking With Fear

During the Warsaw demonstration honoring the 15th anniversary of the ONR on 15 April this year, Adam Gmurczyk pointed out, "In every nation there existed and shall continue to exist a marginal social element—ordinary human garbage. And garbage being garbage, it has simply to be swept out.... At the same time, with all due respect for a garbage man's occupation, a nationalist is something more than that."

"Actions" also include distributing flyers (in schools, churches, housing projects), painting graffiti, and putting up wall posters. This is a morale booster for the boys from the Movement: "We feel needed by the Fatherland."

In painting graffiti or beating up "garbage" Maciek feels the gratification of a duty well done. Even when police stand behind a corner, he feels less fear than he used to when his father would drunkenly totter into their home and mistreat his family. "At those times my throat was choking with fear."

Marcin Swietlicki said, "I think that nationalism is the same defect of human nature as poetry, stamp collecting, internationalism, and any ideology. It certainly derives from what could be termed dislike of loneliness."

The Identity Card of the Political Soldier

Derek Holland appealed to his friends in the NOP: "Never in the history of Europe has the need for battalions of Political Soldiers been so urgent and imperative."

And he offered the reminder, "The hosts of enemies are huge: The banks, communists, freemasons, zionists, capitalists."

Before a candidate receives the I.D. card of the Political Soldier, that is of an NOP member, he has to pass an examination before a commission. He has to demonstrate knowledge of training materials and of the subjects written about in SZCZERBIEC, "which publishes patriots," Maciek said.

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Below are quotations from several articles in SZCZERBIEC on the subject of what a patriot and a candidate for membership in the NOP should know:

On defending the white race:

"...The invasion of Asians, Africans, Moslems, who...spread out on the living body of Christian Europe their religions and creeds. Paganism is proliferating like a conflagration in the steppe.... The propaganda of demoliberalism and the innate stupidity of the so-called intellectual elite attempt to deprive the Polish Nation of its spiritual-racial identity." (Robert Larkowski)

On the Russians:

"The eastern border should be closed to these locusts. Any mafiosi who are caught should be wasted on the spot without a trial and the others (illegal workers) deported.... If the Polish authorities fail to do so,...we nationalists will attend to it, and how, we shall attend to it with pleasure." (Dariusz Mista, university student, Nowa Huta councilman)

On tolerance and fanaticism:

"Tolerance presupposes the nonexistence of objective truth; therefore it is the enemy of religion...and it praises thoughtlessness and cowardice.... In the flood of the contagion termed tolerance we have to become an enclave of fanaticism.... Through fanaticism we shall save our country." (Arkadiusz Zdolski, a graduate of the Main School of Planning and Statistics and a stockbroker at a Western bank)

On the principles of the National Revolution:

"...It shall occur violently; bloodshed should also be expected, but that blood will be the blood of the Political Soldiers, of fanatics fighting for Truth." (Konrad Sitnik, 25 years old, lawyer, employee of the Securities Commission in Warsaw)

On democracy:

"Our territory has been inundated by the destructive flood of alien, cruel, and boorish democratic concepts.... Jewish democracy grasped in its talons supine Poland and is strangling her." (Miroslaw S. Zochowski, a cousin of Stanislaw Zochowski, former chief of staff of the NSZ (National Armed Forces, an extreme rightist grouping) High Command, who perceived the "need to create a new type of man, because the existing one is too weak.")

"Don't you see all those weaklings all around?" he asked. "The intellectual flower is buried in the ground and we are just a bare handful. We must teach people how to think."

On Polish militarism:

"The domestic ideal of Poland is a completely military type embodying the principle that on the Vistula one should even sleep with a rifle in hand.... War should be to Poles...a free instrument of the national spirit." (Miroslaw S. Zochowski, of whom a former columnist for SZCZERBIEC, Edward Prus (formerly a member of the PZPR [Polish United Workers Party] and the author of several anti-Ukrainian books), said, "Mr. Zochowski is a model Pole. He is a patriot for all seasons, a man who is sick with Poland."

Adam Gmurczyk commented on Prus, "We stopped publishing him after his communist past was revealed."

On the Dark Powers:

"We must realize that our racial material in Europe has been grabbed and processed by the Jewish civilization.... On observing the present political reality in Europe and the world, we conclude that the Dark Powers are consistently realizing their successive myth in the form of the New World Order, drawing their inspiration from Masonic thoughts and experience." (Miroslaw S. Zochowski)

Zochowski claims that he completed correspondence courses at the Department of Journalism, Warsaw University, and that in 1990 he wrote a doctoral dissertation entitled "The Vision of Poland in the Political Thought of the National Party in the Years 1939-45." He said that, other than his articles in SZCZERBIEC, he never published anywhere else. "In Communist times no one wanted to publish me."

He held a paying job with the Polish Scouts and later, after he had moved from Szczecin to Warsaw in the late 1970's ("...following my wife, whom I first met through a Scout friend"), he became a worker. "I'm a motor maintenance man in bakeries," he admitted.

He admires the articles published by the Rev. Poradowski in SZCZERBIEC, since that clergyman writes "the naked truth about the Roman Catholic Church."

On the antichurch:

"The Freemasonry is the antichurch, and no Catholic may belong to it. For the purpose of the Freemasonry is to destroy the Roman Catholic Church and the religion revealed by Christ the Lord.... The number of the Roman Catholic priests, bishops, and, above all, cardinals in the Vatican who belong to the Freemasonry is growing...." (The Rev. Michal Poradkowski of Wroclaw)

The Rev. Prof. Poradkowski used to live in Chile for many years. In No. 2/3 of the periodical FRONDA the reverend reminisces, "Pinochet is an unbelievably nice and direct person; I met with him now and then about important matters."

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On the jewel:

"The white man is the jewel of mankind, and no one can deprive him of priding himself of that; no one may do that." (Wojciech Plachy, a worker living near Warsaw)

At present the boys from the Movement have mastered all these issues. They will learn even more about them from "various books," "a little Dmowski," and of course they will bear in mind that the *Diary of Anne Frank* is a fabrication of the Jews.

Demonstrations as a Good Way of Recruiting

Maciek's friend, the 16-year-old Konrad, wears heavy boots and a windbreaker like Maciek, but he did not look like a skinhead, until he declared, "Only the law of the fist and a totalitarian system will bring order into this country."

Konrad's ambition is to become a member of the NOP. They shall serve Poland, because "strength is born through service," and they want to be strong: "We want to be the White Power."

Boys like these eagerly go into action. Workers' demonstrations are their element.

Boleslaw Tejkowski claims that "his people" are present at every demonstration, which is "a very good way of recruiting new members, because people are dissatisfied with the Jewish government." "I, too," interjected the head of the Warsaw district of Tejkowski's party, Grzegorz Borowski, a former worker (not to be confused with that [eponymous] Jew at the Office of the Council of Ministers), "joined out of discontent. One day I realized that Jews are everywhere around me."

Adam Gmurczyk pointed out that following every demonstration more people become interested in the NOP.

Honorary Chairman Zochowski added, "We vet applicants to our party—their past, their financial resources, e.g., whether they will contribute rooms, some cash, etc. Or, if they are school pupils, we test them by having them participate in the actions. People do not join us in order to belong but in order to act."

Prof. Wieslaw Chrzanowski commented, "These parties are as yet marginal, but if mob rule emerges, there is the risk that a leader of this kind would attract frustrated workers, just as Wrzodak has done. After all, he proclaimed similar slogans."

Create a Strong Army

They practice sports.

An NOP member must be as strong and dexterous as a tiger. Their friend, Arek, wants to become a commando. He exercises and collects knives. He learns how to use them. ("Exercise toughens me and the NOP makes me wise.")

Konrad jogs, so that later he can kick the "garbage" with greater force. In addition, his plan is the same as the leader's vision: "We must create a strong army."

For now, strong legs matter most. When one spray paints the organization's slogans on walls, such as FREEDOM MEANS NATIONALISM, JUDE RAUS, GAS THE JEWS, or POLAND FOR POLES, sometimes one has to run fast to elude the police. Last fall, when they painted graffiti on the walls, the police caught Konrad, because he did not run fast enough. Juvenile detention, police precinct, interrogation. But the arrested NOP boys did not betray their superiors.

The Police Commissioner for Juvenile Affairs in Praga-South Wanda Krawcewicz, a psychologist, has been working with juvenile thieves, con artists, and murderers for more than a dozen years now. "But none of them horrifies me more than these children who call themselves nationalists."

We Pay With Our Lives or With the School

Konrad dropped out of high school, along with two friends. At the end of the semester they each failed several courses anyway. The principal requested that the school's name be kept anonymous.

It began when he spray painted a star of David hanging from a gallows on the bus carrying Israeli tourists who visited that school, and when subsequently he distributed an audio tape of nationalist songs.

The principal recalled how Konrad and his friends defaced with markers the jackets of the boys who would not cooperate with them, how they beat them, and how they threatened to burn the cars of their parents should they "think otherwise than real Poles," wear long hair, absent themselves from religious instruction and the Church, etc.

The principal stressed that the school is also responsible for the interests pursued by the children. She explained, "When extracurricular activities are concerned, most teachers ask how much they will be paid for supervising them."

She added, "Anyway, what is there to say considering that one of the expelled boys is the son of an elementary school teacher who is an NOP sympathizer."

Konrad went to a technikum. He intends to present there a speech on the subject of tolerance. He regrets that people do not understand that concept.

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During a demonstration last April, Chairman Gmurczyk devoted a part of his speech to Konrad, "Service to Poland is our duty and not a courtesy or a favor.... And for this national activism we are paying with our lives, health, freedom, jobs, schools. And that is how it should be, because an idea that is confined to rhetorical declarations and one that we cannot defend actively would be worthless."

First Desire, Then Ideology

Jacek Kaminski and Piotr Kolanowski of MYSL POLSKA were about the same age as Maciek and Konrad are now when they became attracted to the NOP in the mid-1980's.

At the time, they had been high school students. They were fascinated by the prohibitions of the Communist system. Like many others, they became recruited into the NOP at the church on Zagorna Street in Warsaw. Piotr said, "It seemed to us that whatever fought communism fights was good for us. We began to gain knowledge and later to filter it and think independently."

When the NOP split from the Christian-National Union, they decided not to remain in the NOP. Nowadays Jacek is a member of the National-Democratic Party, while Piotr remains unaffiliated. "I dislike the perpetual infighting and divisions within the Right," he explained.

Maciek and Konrad were drawn to the NOP while they were boy scouts. "Scoutmaster Grzesiek opened our eyes. He told us about real patriotism," Konrad said, and Maciek added, "It begins when one is impressed by the bald heads and the black clothing, and then ideology comes to the fore."

Wlodzimierz Paszynski, a school administrator, was surprised to learn that the case of the juvenile nationalists was first opened by the police before he could be notified. Something is wrong here. He said, "I believe they are a marginal group, but it should not be ignored. Nowadays one cannot tell what will become dangerous."

Commissioner Krawcewicz blames the school and the parents. "If parents tolerate it blindly when children shave their heads and wear heavy boots, that already is a mistake. They fail to realize that this may be a step on the road to a dangerous ideology."

Adam Gmurczyk: "It is great that behind the boots and windbreakers there is not a vacuum."

Anna Wyka, the sociologist, perceives it to be not a vacuum but an abyss, a black hole resulting from a lack of roots—in oneself, in one's friends, or in the community.

She believes that the "great gorget" and the key hanging around the neck lead to a mindset such as results in the alternative of either hanging oneself or donning skinhead boots and rushing to Big Grandaddy or Big Brother—Mr. Tejkowski or Mr. Gmurczyk. The choice is clear. The young are and remain "merchandise for the taking," as their like-minded peers, who nowadays define themselves as "nationalists," wrote about themselves in ELITA a couple of years ago. Young people remain such merchandise.

It is surely the existence in this "black hole" that accounts for letters such as the one from a high school student in Gdansk to GAZETA POLSKA: "The Right should not curse a person for wearing long hair and drinking beer...for preferring to go to a rock concert than for a walk with his father.... Such young people too go to church, and they, too, do not like the Reds. One should know how to accept such people and tap their huge human and intellectual potential in the future."

For several years now Commissioner Wanda Krawcewicz has been witnessing a decline in standards and authority. "Schools have ceased to play a role in upbringing. Nationalist activists are filling this gap. As if with plasticine, they are sculpting the character of these young people. To the police and to me as a psychologist, this is not a marginal issue but already a problem."

Rafal Pankowski believes that the leaders of the nationalist parties are damaging the psyche of the rising generation. "They're exploiting naivete. Young people look for a meaning, and then these nationalists appear and offer it to them."

For this reason, together with his associates, Pankowski publishes the periodical NIGDY WIECEJ: "We are protesting against the rising surge of fascism."

And against what the nationalist leaders are doing to history. "They skillfully play on national traditions, manipulate them, and want to appropriate them to themselves. They should not be allowed to do that."

Hitler Was Right in Some Ways

The boys from the Movement like to reflect on the future, especially if it would depend on them. As is known, the former eastern territories of Poland should be taken back. Then, too, they already are wondering how to get rid of the disabled and people with AIDS. They are impressed by Hitler's idea of "getting rid of it." Konrad said, "I'm not yet sure about the method of liquidation. Perhaps that filth should not be gassed immediately; perhaps, for example, some ghettos could be established. Something should be done about that filth."

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Because Poland must be clean.

They believe that they'll find a panacea before they will be able to make such decisions. "Hitler was not so bad," said Konrad. "Chill out," Maciek interrupted him, "his mother was a Jewess."

In the opinion of their leader Adam Gmurczyk, Hitler was a "gentle lamb" compared with the "genocidal murderers" who permit abortion. "Hitler was at least right in some ways. This means that some of the deaths he caused were doubtless deserved, whereas those demoliberals are deliberately ending innocent lives."

We Shall Be Like a Virus

The NOP believes that the National Revolution, to which this party aspires, does not require thousands of battalions in order to overcome. "In schools, factories, and offices countless cells of our fighters will arise," Derek Holland wrote in SZCZERBIEC. "We shall be like a virus which imperceptibly bores into the organism of the system and leads it to death...."

Adam Gmurczyk said, "Our people come from every milieu: rightist, military, historians, teachers, actors."

In his book *Europa i jej narody* [Europe and Its Nations] Krzysztof Pomian pointed out that a dangerous foe of the unifying Europe is "national, state, and ideological particularism, which, though its justification varies, always causes either self-isolation or a striving toward hegemony...and which is like a virus, transmitted from generation to generation and, like a virus, is capable of the strangest mutations."

From a Nationalist to a Satanist

The administrators of Konrad's and Maciek's schools are unaware that young nationalists are recruiting their pupils. Many parents are ignorant of the activities of their children. Not every child shaves his head and wears boots with white laces.... "White laces symbolize racial purity," explained Janek, a high school student from Warsaw's environs.

Janek's mother (a clerk) was surprised by my visit. She opened her eyes wide. "What's an NOP? Could it be some mistake?"

In Janek's room a gas blaster is lying in a drawer. A copy of SZCZERBIEC along with a flyer saying "The NOP for Poland" is on hand.

Several months ago Janek dropped out as a candidate NOP member. "It was kid stuff. Our role was reduced to engaging in brawls."

One day he defended a friend who was being beaten for not attending church and not being a racist. Konrad and his friends threatened Janek with a crowbar.

For a month he did not attend school, according to his mother, who only now was learning what had happened. Janek added, "I used to participate in the beatings. I know all this: knuckle-dusters, sticks, chains...booted kicks in the mug. I was afraid."

Like his former friends from the Movement, he believes in racial purity. "I feel good when Gypsies or Romanians get stomped. But it is different when a Pole beats up another Pole, and that's why I dropped out of these games."

After a month of truancy Janek was assigned for psychotherapeutic care. For several months now he has been swallowing prescribed medications. At his new high school he is finding himself. "At least they're not here," he said and, turning on satanist music, he added, "One should try everything."

Janek claims that he is communicating poorly with his parents. It is as if they are not here. "Father orders me to sit down for a meal with him. He thinks that it is enough for a family to eat together in order to stick together. As for me, I'm looking for new values. Those in which my family is nurturing me are obsolete."

Janek's mother smiles indulgently. She leans over and whispers, "His father drinks. It's not surprising that this is how he has turned out...."

And the Garden Plot, Too, Will Be Tended

Unlike Janek's mother, Konrad's mother, Teresa, is aware of her son's activities.

Teresa is 40 years old, an unemployed skilled worker. She believes that it is Russia's fault.... "The Russians are swarming in across the border and stealing jobs from Poles."

Teresa is hiding her joblessness from her mother, who lives with them. For the past three years every morning she has left home as if she were going to work. Now and then she gets a babysitting or housekeeping job. She supports her family with her mother's pension and her own alimony. When Konrad was a month old, his father, a truck driver, abandoned his family.

Later a boyfriend of Teresa moved in with them. Konrad's bed and a desk were moved to an end-corner of the kitchen. Above the desk is a shelf with several books such as *Secret Plots of Hitler's Magi*, *Life After Death*, and copies of the monthly SZCZERBIEC. Reading it takes up most of Konrad's time. Now and then he listens to the Honor Band music: "The White Heritage of the Aryan race, a voice whose future depends on you today. Not so long ago the world could

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have been saved; today it is different, so defend your race."

Teresa commented, "My son brings home tapes with pretty, patriotic songs to which the heart responds. From what he says, I like even that NOP. Let the Jews go to the furnaces and the blacks to the trees. Sometimes I watch movies with him that show skinheads drubbing the Yolks [Asians] or Turks. Such housecleaning should be done in Poland now that so much of that filth infests it."

Teresa believes that every young boy, especially one raised without a father, should belong to such an organization. Because the party is their home.

And so many men around Konrad are like fathers to him.

Adam Gmurczyk admitted, "Sometimes parents thank us and say how pleased they are that their children have found a meaning in life. We try to create a friendly atmosphere in the NOP; for example, when our young people have academic problems, we offer them free remedial lessons."

The NOP organizes pilgrimages to sacred Catholic sites in France. "And if the need arises, we also cultivate a person's garden plot," added the NOP's leader.

Survival Counts

Marek, Arek, and Tomek visited Konrad at home. They again discussed the future. They wonder if perhaps the nationalist parties could be merged, one day, when, of course, they will become leaders. After all, they have friends who belong to similar parties led by Tejkowski, Bryczkowski, and Baranski. Many are like-minded.

Maciek looks abstracted and somewhat tense; soon now he is to take a qualifying exam to become a Political Soldier. "One day we shall permit hair to be grown long again and take off skinhead jackets and boots, but we shall keep our ideology."

Konrad interrupted, "My biggest dream is that my ideas will endure, that my patriotism will never weaken."

Konrad's admission is hoarsely silenced by the Honor Band signing on audio tape, "Polishness is being lost nowadays; a foreign current bears it away. So then why are you still silent...?"

[Box, p 7]

The International Third Position (whose members include the National Rebirth of Poland, or NOP in the Polish acronym) was first established some 15 years ago in Italy as the "Terza Positione," espoused by nationalists opposing Italian Communists.

This is how the Third Position activist Roberto Fiore described it in SZCZERBIEC: "The nationalists, who had previously been routed from every nook and cranny in Italy, began to recover lost territory: school after school, street after street." Fiore emphasized that the Third Position owed its success to the creation of the idea of the Political Soldier and to its radical social activities guided by the principle, "We should implement our program of action on the streets."

The Terza Positione models itself on the Iron Guard, the Romanian fascist organization active before the war under the leadership of Corneliu Z. Codreanu. The Terza Positione was accused of many terrorist acts, including the bombing in Bologna on 2 August 1980 which brought death to 84 people.

The nationalists from the Terza Positione have established contacts with the nationalists of Ireland, Spain, Poland, and Croatia. This is how the International Third Position was formed.

[Box, p 8]

"Nationalism...revives dead languages, invents traditions, resurrects a fictitious primeval purity...of culture which it is to defend and to resurrect, and which quite often it invents on its own or unrecognizably alters." (Ernest Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism*)

[Box, p 9]

"The number of potential nationalists who don't bark is many times that of those who bark, although we notice only the latter." (Ernest Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism*)

[Box, p 9]

Early in June the Anti-Nazi Group sent around a letter to Sejm and the presidential candidates expressing anxiety over "acts of violence of a political nature that were committed by members of fascist parties," and pointing out that the "still unstable social and economic situation threatens growth of the influence of extreme groupings which are a menace to Polish democracy."

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Director Praised for Improvement of SRI's Image

AU1909075395 Bucharest EVENIMENTUL ZILEI in Romanian 13 Sep 95 p 1

[Editorial by Ion Cristoiu: "Virgil Magureanu's Battle for the Image of the Romanian Intelligence Service"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Writing in a previous issue of this daily about the journal of Eugen Cristescu, the former head of the Romanian Intelligence Service [SRI] in the Antonescu [Marshal Ion Antonescu, Romanian military ruler during World War II] period, I emphasized that one of the most serious blows administered to the country was the chaos produced in the Romanian secret services immediately after December 1989. Of course, the Securitate was first and foremost a political police. [passage omitted] As such, the Securitate seriously violated individual freedoms and poked its nose into the intimate life of each citizen, following him everywhere. Therefore, the anti-Securitate campaign after December 1989 was perfectly justified. Nevertheless, there was another side to the activity carried out by this institution, which was within the necessary boundaries of the intelligence and counterintelligence activity, without which no country can survive on the world's map. Unfortunately, after December 1989, even this side of its activity came to be doubted, although it did not belong to the odious political police practices. As I have already said in a previous article, it is not for the first time in Romania's history that the transition from one regime to another meant the shattering, along with the residues of the previous activity, of the national interest nucleus of the secret service that operated in the previous system. After December 1989, we witnessed a similar disaster to that which occurred after the fall of King Carol II [September 1940] or the collapse of the Antonescu regime [August 1944]. Secrets that should have been kept under wraps were disclosed because they did not belong to the realm of the Ceausescu regime, but to Romania's national interests. Agents who needed years on end to be infiltrated abroad were uncovered, and reliable people were thus delivered to the opposing secret services. Likewise, the foreign secret services were allowed to implant their networks more thoroughly on Romanian territory. But the most serious thing that happed was the accreditation of the idea that Romania can do without a secret intelligence service and that any attempt to set up and consolidate such a service would be nothing but a shrewd effort to remake, in a democratic framework, the secret political police of the Ceausescu era. This is one of the most serious things that could have happened to the country, because any secret service in the world needs the trust of the public at large in its good intentions if it wants to be efficient in its task of defending national security. Any suspicions that a secret service is a political police in the service of the temporary powers that be and that it does not observe a political equidistance and any impression that its activity violates the democratic freedoms are catastrophic. [passage omitted]

Therefore, it goes without saying that the main problem faced by the SRI since its creation a few years ago was not to reveal information that still had to be kept secret—because it did not only contain disclosures about the transient Ceausescu regime, but also about our national security—and not to divulge the identity of our agents abroad or the thoroughness with which foreign secret services have planted their networks on Romanian territory, but rather to protect its public image. [passage omitted] Therefore, I would like to say a few words about the extraordinary battle led by Virgil Magureanu [SRI director] to create an image for the SRI as a politically equidistant institution exclusively in the service of our national interests, an institution that has not only cut all links to the political police aspect of the former Securitate, but is also engaged in constant polemics on the abuses of the previous period; hence the initiative of gathering—under the headline "The White Charter of the Securitate"—documents from the previous period referring to the abuses and crimes committed by the former Securitate. [passage omitted] Many of the documents selected from the archives of the former Securitate and printed in the pages of the five volumes published so far are favorable to the political adversaries of today's power. It is obvious that, since he disposed of the archives of the former Securitate, Magureanu could have left these revelations undisclosed. [passage omitted] However, Virgil Magureanu stuck obstinately to the historical truth. Consequently, with few exceptions, all of Ion Iliescu's adversaries in the current literary-artistic space appear in a favorable light, while certain friends of the president, such as Corneliu Vadim Tudor and Adrian Paunescu, appear in a poor light. The SRI director did not hesitate to give a green light to the publication of this book. This stubbornness in observing the historical truth by all means and objectively presenting the past might prove costly to Magureanu. If this cost may prove to be his departure from the leadership of the SRI, then he will at least have had the huge satisfaction of seeing one of his main ambitions come true, namely the elimination of any suspicion that the SRI is a political police force in the service of the powers that be.

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Brasov Securitate Chief Now PSM Spokesman

AU1809141395 Bucharest COTIDIANUL in Romanian 12 Sep 95 p 2

[Report by Claudiu Pamuc: "The Former Brasov Securitate Chief—PSM Brasov Spokesman"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The current spokesman of the PSM [Socialist Party of Labor] Brasov Branch used to be the head of the Brasov Securitate, in the period 1968-83. Currently, Reserve Major General Victor Neculicioiu can count 40 years of activity in the repressive apparatus of the Securitate. In the 1983-89 period, Neculicioiu headed a directorate in the Romanian Counterespionage Service, where his deputy was Mihai Lupu, currently head of a department in the Romanian Intelligence Service. During a news conference of the PSM Brasov branch, Neculicioiu said that after the [1989 December] Revolution "all those who were proved to be in the service of foreign interests remained in the top structures," while competent people in the Securitate "were put on the shelf." Neculicioiu added that he could compile a list with the names of all the current employees of the Romanian Intelligence Service who have been compromised, but he fears that a "car accident" would be set up for him.

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Federal

Milosevic, Holbrooke Urge End to Hostilities

LD1809132395 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1238 CMT 18 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, 18 Sep (TANJUG)—Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic and Richard Holbrooke, head of the U.S. Government delegation and U.S. assistant secretary of state, and their aides resumed talks this morning on the main issues in the process of regulating the crisis in Bosnia-Herzegovina as part of the efforts to prepare the way for reaching a comprehensive peace agreement at the next international peace conference.

During their meeting yesterday and today, necessary clarifications were made aimed at securing a convergence of views on how to approach the process of resolving open issues on the basis of the current U.S. peace initiative.

It was said that, in view of the widely expressed commitment, the international community will succeed in ensuring that the sides in the conflict commit themselves to stopping all offensive activities. This would provide significant impetus to current diplomatic activities and would help to complete preparations for the conference.

The need was stressed for securing the cessation of hostilities throughout Bosnia-Herzegovina without further delay.

The talks were also attended by Yugoslav Foreign Minister Milan Milutinovic, and Rudolf Perina, the U.S. charge d'affaires in Belgrade.

Milosevic: Peace Process 'Certainly Progressing'

AU1809143895 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 18 Sep 95

[Report by Danijela Spasic on statement by Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic following talks with U.S. special envoy Richard Holbrooke in Belgrade; date not given—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] After talks with the U.S. high-ranking delegation led by Richard Holbrooke, Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic said that the peace process was certainly progressing. The deputy of the U.S. secretary of state agreed and reiterated that yet another effort had been made that would lead to the [word indistinct] of all forces with the objective of achieving peace. Holbrooke thanked President Milosevic for the time he devoted to him and said that he would brief in detail President Clinton and the National Security Council on the talks when he returns to Washington tomorrow night.

Milutinovic, Rifkind on 'Constructive Talks'

AU1809160595 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 18 Sep 95

[Report by Tamara Motrenko on press conference by British Foreign Secretary Malcolm Rifkind and FRY Foreign Minister Milan Milutinovic in Belgrade on 17 September—recorded; Rifkind speaks in English fading into Serbo-Croatian translation; Milutinovic speaks in Serbo-Croatian]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Rifkind] Allow me to express extreme satisfaction at being in Belgrade this evening and to say that President Milosevic, Minister Milutinovic, and I had very long and constructive talks; as you know, the topic of the talks were the chances for achieving peace in former Bosnia. I believe that the current moment and the atmosphere is now superior to what we have had in a long time. As far as the situation inside and outside of Sarajevo is concerned, and the 72 hour deadline for withdrawing Serb heavy artillery from the exclusion zone, it seems that significant progress has been achieved in this process, and that it will [word indistinct] in the next 72 hours of the new, extended deadline so that we can all use these significant hours to concentrate—with all the powers we possess—on the peace and diplomatic process.

[Motrenko] The head of British diplomacy nevertheless believes that the real achievement and stabilization of peace will require efforts by all sides over a longer period of time, providing there is a firm commitment to peace. Malcolm Rifkind believes that the three-year agony of the former Bosnia-Herzegovina will soon be over and the region will turn to reconstruction; possibilities will open up for all states of the former Yugoslavia to completely integrate into the family of European nations, which is the goal Rifkind is personally hoping for. He hopes that joint efforts will allow all states in the region to join in this process.

Correspondents were then addressed by Federal Republic of Yugoslavia Foreign Minister Milan Milutinovic.

[Milutinovic] We had extremely constructive talks. The stances are known to the public; the negotiating process is in progress and Mr. Rifkind has arrived at just the right moment. In the midst of all these talks, there remains a lot to be done, however, I believe that after the Geneva conference [words indistinct] foundations have been laid for all future solutions. I believe we are well on the way to a speedy, even very speedy, peaceful solution to the crisis in Bosnia.

[Motrenko] Speaking about Great Britain's contribution to the peace process and his personal contribution, Rifkind explained that this was part of the ef-

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fort of the extended international community expressed through the efforts of the Contact Group, as well as individual U.S. diplomatic efforts embodied in Richard Holbrooke's mission, which Rifkind supported strongly. By visiting the region, Great Britain is helping the Contact Group's work. Each country's contribution to peace is substantial, and that is why the British minister—in an attempt to speed up the peace process and clarify many problems and details of the future [words indistinct]—will discuss these details with the governments in Sarajevo and Zagreb in order to precisely define the stipulations of the agreement reached in Geneva and its possible problems.

Asked whether he believes that the latest Muslim offensive in Western Bosnia could threaten the peace process and the progress achieved heretofore, Rifkind said that a solution for lasting peace and stability in Bosnia does not lie in weapons and military engagement, but in political agreements. He added that he believed that military engagement does not contribute to the achievement of the ultimate goal—a political solution through negotiations—while, in the long run, current strategic supremacy on the ground, as is the case now, would not lead to a final political solution and ultimate result. [sentence as heard]

The head of British diplomacy, Malcolm Rifkind, answered a question pertaining to Russia's position in finding a solution to the Bosnia-Herzegovina crisis and said that this was not a concrete topic of tonight's talks with President Slobodan Milosevic, but that the Russian Federation's position and contribution—as a prestigious Contact Group member—was valued highly, particularly its commitment to solving all problems in a peaceful and diplomatic way.

Regarding the lifting of the sanctions on the FRY as a gesture of acknowledging Yugoslavia's contribution to peace and the peace process, Rifkind said that the very extension of the sanctions suspension was a step leading symbolically toward the lifting of the sanctions, while they would be lifted precisely at the moment when the final political solution for the problem and conflict is found, a time that is very close.

Foreign Minister Milan Milutinovic wished to explain to correspondents that the continued offensive in western Bosnia could, of course, endanger the peace, and that this was not the way to solve problems. He also added that the FRY was naturally very worried by the offensive as it was not a part of the peace process. We deeply regret the offensive, Milutinovic said, but we also regret the NATO bombing because it has diminished the chances for a positive outcome of the peace process. This, of course, endangers the peace process, and I agree with Mr. Rifkind's statement.

Duma Official on Help in Creating 'Strong Serbia'

AU1809192595 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 18 Sep 95

[Video report with announcer voice-over, including statements by Vladimir Lukin, chairman of the foreign affairs commission of the Russian Federation's State Duma, and Borisav Jovic, chairman of the foreign affairs commission in the Federal Assembly—recorded; Lukin speaks in Russian with superimposed Serbo-Croatian translation]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Announcer] Representatives of the Russian Federation's State Duma and the Yugoslav Assembly in Belgrade today stressed that the most important task at the moment is to stop the war in earlier Yugoslavia and that NATO's bombing of the Serb Republic [RS] was unfair and unjustified.

It was agreed in talks between the Russian parliamentary delegation, which arrived in our country today, and members of commissions for foreign relations of both federal Assembly chambers that air strikes must not be resumed because the Croat and Muslim sides—under NATO patronage—are attacking Serb territories. Also condemned were forced migrations and the ethnic cleansing of the Serb people from their ancestral homes in the Republic of Serb Krajina and certain parts of the RS.

[Lukin] We shall be with you, we shall do everything in our power to see peace restored in your country and a peaceful solution found, one that is as fair as possible, so that the Serb people are a single entity and Serbia a strong country. A strong Serbia means a strong Russia and vice versa. We shall be here, we shall work together, we shall continue to talk with your leadership in order to find the best ways of working together. Thank you.

[Jovic] We discussed how to join forces in an attempt to solve the crisis in the earlier Yugoslavia, to stop the war, lift the sanctions, to increase cooperation between our countries; to put it succinctly, to see that our country and Russia step forward toward progress without suffering and the difficulties they are currently battling.

I have to say that the talks once again showed and proved the traditional understanding that exists between our two peoples, our assemblies. We exchanged views on all issues, we reached joint conclusions, and we agreed how to work together in relation to the international public, our governments, and in cooperation with

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the two assemblies with the goal of solving the problems, and primarily with the goal of ending the war, establishing peace, and lifting the sanctions.

Parliament Members Meet Russian Duma Delegation

LD1809185295 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1753 GMT 18 Sep 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Sept. 18 (TANJUG)—Air strikes against Bosnian Serbs must not reoccur because Croats and Muslims attack Bosnian Serb territory under NATO's aegis, it was heard at a meeting between Russian and Yugoslav parliamentarians in Belgrade on Monday.

In the talks between the delegation of the Russian State Duma (lower house) and the Yugoslav parliamentarians, it was said that the most important issue now was to stop the war in former Yugoslavia and that NATO air strikes against Bosnian Serb military and civilian facilities were unjust and groundless.

The expulsion and ethnic cleansing of Serbs from their ancestral homes in the Republic of Serb Krajina and parts of the Bosnian Serb Republic was condemned at the meeting.

President of the Yugoslav Parliament's foreign policy committee Borisav Jovic said that Yugoslavia's commitment to a peaceful settlement of the crisis remained unchanged.

He said that there was no reason to keep the sanctions against Yugoslavia in force and called for their full suspension.

Head of the Russian delegation, president of the State Duma foreign relations committee Vladimir Lukin said that this was a 'mission of solidarity with Yugoslavia's citizens and Serb brothers in the Bosnian Serb Republic.'

He said that a group of Russian m.p.s would visit the Bosnian Serb administrative centre of Pale.

It is necessary to strengthen the Yugoslav-Russian economic cooperation and increase Russia's engagement in providing humanitarian assistance for refugees in Yugoslavia, it was heard in the talks.

About 160,000 refugees arrived in Yugoslavia after Croatia's August aggression against Serb Krajina alone. Yugoslavia was already assisting about 500,000 refugees who had arrived in the country since 1991, when the conflict in former Yugoslavia broke out.

Daily: Causes of Yugoslav Conflict Examined

95BA0342A Belgrade EKONOMSKA POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 14 Aug 95 p 12

[Unattributed article: "Sobering Up"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Now is the time for us to face the truth. After all, the ultimate cause of the tragic and painful exodus of the Serbian poor from Kninska Krajina, Banija, and Kordun (those who are better off left long ago, bought apartments, established enterprises, and have already multiplied their wealth, benefiting from the suffering of those who are now arriving on tractor-drawn trailers) is not only that the Vance-Owen Plan was rejected in Pale, and the Z-4 Plan in Knin, but also that the disease from which society is suffering has been passed over in silence and covered up since the very beginning.

This certainly does not mean that we should not take every occasion offered to negotiate instead of waging war, to look for a meeting instead of a conflict. But accepting talks to save what can be saved is not enough to negotiate a change of direction in rescuing the population and the community as a whole. The change of direction will begin when an unreserved readiness is shown to analyze the illness from which society is suffering.

The analysis could begin with the crisis of identity, that is, a confusion that occurred many years earlier. For example, at the time when circles close to the members of the academy expounded and argued that the objective of Serbia and Yugoslavia is not a unified Europe, but all the Serbs present and accounted for. With additional rhetoric to the effect that achievement of that objective would be speeded up if Hungary and Croatia joined a united Europe, this would send the Vojvodina Hungarians toward the parent country, and the Serbs from Croatia toward their parent country, because the small stray peoples could not survive among the Catholics. (Just in passing: Rade Korica, who formerly worked as an engineer at Koncar in Zagreb and who was among the first to arrive in Belgrade from Korenica, but as a way station on the way to Canada, where his son is already, said: "I do not understand at all why it is so important for all the Serbs to come to Serbia. After all, I have no other explanation for what happened to us on the night between Saturday and Sunday.")

A willingness to face the truth was not shown even when the Security Council definitively and exclusively placed all the responsibility for solving the crisis on the territory of the former Yugoslavia on Belgrade (Resolution 871), making removal of the sanctions on Serbia and Montenegro conditional upon guaranteeing Croa-

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tia's territorial integrity within internationally recognized borders. Still less was that willingness demonstrated a bit later, when the countries of united Europe agreed that the optimum thing would be for the former republics of Yugoslavia to be recognized as independent states if they think that that is in their interest.

Those familiar with the principles on which that multinational group, which has many contradictory interests, operates were able to tell us (and have done so) that this is a kind of discipline well known to us: The parliament in Brussels or some meeting in Maastricht, for example, debates at length and then adopts positions and recommendations they all abide by until the next positions and recommendations are made public. All of this functions almost exactly the way the institutions of the former Yugoslavia functioned at a time when the only party was strong and united. Views and conclusions were defined in the party congress, and everyone knew that that was the policy for the next four years. Every director then knew what he was supposed to do and in what direction he was supposed to guide business policy, because the "reward" would be loans granted, investments made, and the well-being of his employees, and the "punishment" would be neglect and failure.

The disappointment of those several hundreds of thousands of people torn from their homes and livelihood is still not final. It will continue when they see with their own eyes what Isak Adizes, a Jew born in Skopje, educated in Belgrade, and now a U.S. citizen, talks about: "I have heard that smugglers have turned up in Belgrade and Yugoslavia who are making all kinds of money and dominating certain areas of life.... That is the worst thing that has happened in Yugoslavia"—that is, worse even than the disintegration of the state, worse than the war, and worse than the sanctions. He goes on to illustrate: "They asked me to come to Russia and promised me the world. I said: 'Better call my son, because I think that that corruption and crime will not be eradicated during my lifetime.'"

European journalists, who are reaching even our editorial office, have been observing more and more frequently the following: Your economy and your society are well on the way to giving us a Latin American-type mafioso economy in the middle of Europe.

Can we afford to disregard those warnings?

A policy of peace, a policy of economic and every other kind of cooperation is the only policy that makes sense. We should encourage everyone who is going in that direction and discourage those others. But that will not be enough for a definitive resolution of the crisis that has befallen us unless at the same time we activate a policy of truth and readiness to communicate all the details of that crisis, however unpleasant that might be. The criterion of change cannot be the economy, its growth rates, and restructuring, because those processes are slow. The changes must begin with respect for the law. We cannot describe as a lack of financial discipline things that are actually crimes. We cannot talk about the gray economy in the private sector when disruptions on the currency market in the street are caused by old enterprises and banks whose directors or board chairmen are none other than ministers and various party officials.

Change in Attitude Toward Germany Urged

95BA0342B Belgrade EKONOMSKA POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 14 Aug 95 pp 12-13

[Unattributed article: *"Verflucht Deutschland!"*]

[FBIS Translated Text] By contrast with Croatia, where they sang (we do not know whether this is still done) the song *"Danke Deutschland"* (Thank You, Germany), we are constantly playing the tune *"Verflucht Deutschland!"* (Damn Germany!), and, of course, "damn" is replaced by much stronger expressions in the spirit of our language. There are certainly quite a few reasons for this, and they are not unknown. We are not certain, therefore, whether it is opportune at this moment to publish this article, but we are certain that it has to be said at some point that the unappealable condemnations of that country and certain others—Austria and the United States, for instance, and we can add The Vatican—have gone too far, that this is counterproductive, and that it is causing harm above all to our own selves. As it is today, so shall it be tomorrow.

Back in the time when Germany was insisting on recognition of Slovenia and Croatia, we published an editorial comment under the headline "Genscher Loves Genscher," in which we said that the then foreign minister of the Federal Republic did not love or hate any people in particular, but he loved himself, his position, that is, the position of his party, which is always on the verge of dropping out of parliament. That is why he goes on about the mood of the voters, who are certainly influenced by the media, most of whom had no sympathy for the Serbian side in the Yugoslav crisis, and who were rooting with all their might for the other participants in the conflict.

The German Government and many other factors in the Federal Republic of Germany gave their political and all other support to what we might call their clients and still are doing so, although this support is no longer unconditional and uncritical. That is not in dispute, but what is in dispute is whether they did this for the reasons attributed to them: to take revenge on the Serbs for defeats in two world wars, to realize their ancient

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aspiration to penetrate to the east and reach warm-water ports, because they still have not freed themselves of their Nazi past and appetites, and so on.

An objective analysis would not supply evidence for any of these assertions. Today, it has very good, even friendly, relations with many countries and peoples that fought against it and defeated it in the world wars—with France, Britain, and other West European countries, with Poland, the Czech Republic, and other East European countries, with the United States. It even has correct relations with a country like Israel, whose citizens have every reason to abhor it. Strong as it is, above all economically, but also in other ways, Germany has no need to penetrate any part of the world by brute force, because it can achieve everything it wants without using force. As for the charge of the resurgence of Nazism, it is only as true as it is of the other countries in Europe. The FRG is today a democratic country; its postwar generations are even more imbued with the democratic spirit than in most of the countries in its immediate and more remote neighborhood.

The most important thing for this newspaper and its readers is that today Germany is the dominant economic force in Europe. Whoever feels a paranoid fear of it does so against his own economic and all other interests. It is not possible to bypass it in joining economic Europe. That was true even before our tragedy, which was caused above all by endogenous factors and only secondarily assisted by exogenous factors, including the German factors, and this is especially true now. On the eve of disintegration of the SFRY [Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia], Germany (the Federal Republic without the GDR) had a one-fifth share in the exports and imports of what is now the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, plus or minus a few percentage points, and a share of nearly one-fourth when the GDR is included, and we have not even included here the exceedingly large "loan" transactions. Its share in foreign investments up to the end of 1992 was between 22 and 23 percent in terms of both number and capital, which is not to mention the remittances of workers and other items in the balance of payments.

In the immediate or distant future, when we are free of the sanctions, when peace prevails, we will need markets for our products, we will need many products from other people, technology and knowledge, capital, and many other things. Can we imagine Germany not participating in all that? Is it possible to do business in the world on the basis of sympathies and antipathies, and assumed or real friendship and hostility?

This does not mean that the interest in cooperation will be one-sided, only on our part. It is true that the FRY [Federal Republic of Yugoslavia] is not Yugoslavia with its population of 24 million, as it was in the past, but with its 10 million consumers it is a larger market for everyone, including Germany, than any other former Yugoslav republic; it is important as a transit country for freight and passengers; and it has immense needs for equipment, capital.

We should long ago have rejected the arguments that Germany and the Germans hate us, we should have tried to keep from breaking off contacts, and so on. But what has happened has happened. We have to turn over a new leaf as soon as possible, reestablish old ties and create new ones, not on a sentimental or any other unrealistic basis, but on the basis of the interests of both sides. It will very soon be borne out that the results will be forthcoming.

Growth in Industrial Production in Most Sectors

LD1509160795 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1546 GMT 15 Sep 95

["Ecopool" item]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Sept 15 (TANJUG)—Industrial production in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia has increased 9.3 percent in the first eight months this year as compared to the same period in 1994, according to data of the Federal Statistics Office.

Industrial production has increased by 6.2 percent in August as compared to July this year, assistant director of the Federal Statistics Office Mirjana Rankovic told journalists at a press conference.

Industrial production growth from January to August 1995 was registered by all sectors, except the textile, and the leather and rubber industries.

Production growth in metallurgy was 20 percent in the first eight months this year as compared to the same period 1994, while the chemical and paper industries registered a 18.3 percent growth, food and tobacco 15.4 percent, construction material production 11 percent, electrical industry 10 percent and energy and wood processing 7.3 percent each.

The textile industry, leather and rubber registered a production drop of 5.6 percent from January to August this year as compared to the same period in 1994.

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